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THE
POETICAL WORKS
OF
JOHN MILTON.

VOLUME THE FOURTH.

CONTAINING
PARADISE REGAINED.
SAMSON AGONISTES.
PLANS OF OTHER TRAGEDIES.

LONDON:

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PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS

ON

PARADISE REGAINED*.



THAT the *Paradise Regained* has been considerably underrated by the world, seems of late to be an opinion almost generally admitted. But perhaps we shall state the fact more correctly, if we say that it has been *neglected*, rather than *under-rated*; that it has been more *unknown*, than *not admired*. This is so much the case, that I apprehend some of the warmest panegyrists of the *Paradise Lost* have never honoured this Poem with a perusal; or only with a casual and most unfair one, under a cloud of prejudices against it.—A critick, whose taste, judgement, and candour are unquestioned, has given it absolutely *no place at all* among the Works of its Author. “If I might venture to place Milton’s Works according to their degrees of poetick excellence,” says Dr. Joseph Warton, “it should be perhaps in the following order, PARADISE LOST, COMUS, SAMSON AGONISTES, LYCIDAS, L’ALLEGRO, IL PENSEROSO.” (See concluding note to the *Lycidas*, in Warton’s Edition of Milton’s *Juvenile Poems*!) I should hope that PARADISE REGAINED slipped accidentally out of the list: indeed what the late Mr. Warton has said of the *Comus*, I do not hesitate to apply to the Poem before us, and to hazard freely my unqualified opinion, that “the Author is here inferior only to his own *Paradise Lost*.”

* I have ventured to form the remarks of the learned editor of *Paradise Regained*, subjoined in his elegant edition of 1795 to the end of each book, into a *Preliminary Discourse*; as corresponding, in this modification, with the design of Mr. Addison’s critical essay on *Paradise Lost*; which is, to point out strongly the particular beauties of the Poem to the reader’s notice; or, in other words, to tell him the delicious fare which he may expect, and to bid him “sit down, and feed, and welcome at the table.”



If we consider the FIRST BOOK, we shall find much to admire, and little to censure.

The Proposition of the Subject is clear and dignified, and is beautifully wound up in the concluding line, "And Eden rais'd in the waste wilderness."

The Invocation of the Holy Spirit is equally devout and poetical. The Baptism of John carries us with the best effect *in medias res*. Satan's Infernal Council is briefly, but finely, assembled; his speech is admirable; and the effect of it is strongly depicted. This is strikingly contrasted by the succeeding beautiful description of the Deity surrounded by his Angels; his Speech to them; and the triumphant Hymn of the Cœlestial Choir.—Indeed the whole opening of this Poem is executed in so masterly a manner, that, making allowance for a certain wish to *compress*, which is palpably visible, very few parts of the *Paradise Lost* can in any respect claim a pre-eminence.—The brief description of our Lord's entering "now the bordering desert wild, and with dark shades and rocks environ'd round;" and again, where "looking round on every side he beholds a pathless desert, dusk with horrid shades," are scenes worthy the pencil of Salvator. Our Lord's Soliloquy is a material part of the Poem, and briefly narrates the early part of his life. In the *Paradise Lost*, where the Divine Persons are speakers, Milton has so chastened his pen, that we meet with few poetical images, and chiefly scriptural sentiments, delivered, as near as may be, in scriptural, and almost always in unornamented, language. But the poet seems to consider this circumstance of the Temptation, (if I may venture so to express myself,) as the last, perfect, completion of the *Initiation* of the Man Jesus in the *mystery* of his own divine nature and office: at least he feels himself entitled to make our Saviour while on earth, and "inshrined in fleshly tabernacle," speak in a certain degree, *ad homines*, or, *after the manner of men*. Accordingly all the speeches of our blessed Lord, in this Poem, are far more elevated than any language that is put into the mouth of the Divine Speakers in any part of the *Paradise Lost*. The ingrafting Mary's Speech into that of her Son, it must be allowed, is not a happy circumstance. It has an awkward effect, loads the rest of the Speech, and might have been avoided, and better managed. The description of the probable manner of our Lord's

PARADISE REGAINED.

passing the forty days in the wilderness is very picturesque; and the return of the wild beasts to their Paradisiacal mildness is finely touched. The appearance of the Tempter in his assumed character; the deep art of his two first speeches, covered, but not totally concealed, by a semblance of simplicity; his bold avowal and plausible vindication of himself; the subsequent detection of his fallacies, and the pointed reproofs of his impudence and hypocrisy, on the part of our Blessed Lord,—cannot be too much admired. Indeed, the whole conclusion of this Book abounds so much in closeness of reasoning, grandeur of sentiment, elevation of style, and harmony of numbers, that it may well be questioned whether poetry on such a subject, and especially in the form of dialogue, ever produced any thing superiour to it.

The singular beauty of the brief description of night coming on in the desert, closes the Book with such admirable effect, that it leaves us *con la bocca dolce*.

The opening of the SECOND BOOK is not calculated to engage attention, by any particular beauty of the picturesque or descriptive kind; but by recurring to what passed at the river Jordan among Jesus's new disciples and followers upon his absence, and by making Mary express her maternal feelings upon it, the poet has given an extent and variety to his subject. It might perhaps be wished, that all which he has put into the mouth of the Virgin, respecting the early life of her Son, had been confined solely to this place, instead of a part being incorporated in our Lord's soliloquy in the first Book. There it seems awkwardly introduced, but here I conceive her speech might have been extended with good effect.—Our Lord, (ver. 110.) is, in a brief but appropriate description, again presented to us in the wilderness. The poet, in the mean time, makes Satan return to his infernal council, to report the bad success of his first attempt, and to demand their counsel, and assistance, in an enterprize of so much difficulty. This he does in a brief and energetick speech. Hence arises a debate; or at least a proposition on the part of Belial, and a rejection of it by Satan, of which I cannot sufficiently express my admiration. The language of Belial is exquisitely descriptive of the power of beauty, without a single word introduced, or even a thought conveyed, that is unbecoming its place in this divine Poem. Satan's reply is eminently fine: his imputing to Belial, as the most dis-

solute of the fallen Angels, the amours attributed by the poets and mythologists to the Heathen Gods, while it is replete with classic beauty, furnishes an excellent moral to those extravagant fictions: and his description of the little effect which the most powerful enticements can produce on the resolute mind of the virtuous, while it is heightened with many beautiful turns of language, is, in its general tenour, of the most superiour and dignified kind. Indeed all this part of his speech (from ver. 191. to ver. 225.) seems to breathe such a sincere and deep sense of the charms of real goodness, that we almost forget who is the speaker: at least we readily subscribe to what he had said of himself in the first Book;

————— “ I have not lost
 “ To love, at least contemplate and admire
 “ What I see excellent in good, or fair,
 “ Or virtuous.”

After such sentiments so expressed, it might have been thought difficult for the poet to return to his subject, by making the Arch-Fiend resume his attempts against the Divine Person, the commanding majesty of whose invincible virtue he had just been describing with such seemingly heart-felt admiration. This is managed with much address, by Satan's proposing to adopt such modes of temptation as are apt to prevail most, where the propensities are virtuous, and where the disposition is amiable and generous: and, by the immediate return of the Tempter and his associates to the wilderness, the Poem advances towards the height of its argument.—Our Saviour's passing the night is well described. The coming on of morn is a beautiful counterpart of “night coming on in the desert,” which so finely closed the preceding Book. Our Lord's waking—his viewing the country—and the description of the “pleasant grove,” which is to be the scene of the banquet—are all set off with every grace that poetry can give. The appearance of Satan, varied from his first disguise, as he has now quite another part to act, is perfectly well imagined; and his speech, referring to scripture examples of persons miraculously fed in desert places, is truly artful and in character; as is his second sycophantick address, where, having acknowledged our Lord's right to all created things, he adds,

PARADISE REGAINED.

vii

" Behold,
 " Nature aſham'd, or, better to expreſs,
 " Troubled that thou ſhould'ſt hunger, hath purvey'd
 " From all the elements her choicelt ſtore,
 " To treat thee, as beſeems, and, as her Lord,
 " With honour."

The banquet (ver. 340.) comprises every thing that Roman luxury, Eaſtern magnificence, mythological fable, or poetick fancy, can ſupply; and, if compared with ſimilar deſcriptions in the Italian Poets, will be found much ſuperiour to them. In the concluding part of his invitation the virulence of the Arch-Fiend breaks out, as it were involuntarily, in a ſarcaſtick alluſion to the divine prohibition reſpecting the tree of knowledge; but he immediately reſumes his hypocritical ſervility, which much reſembles his language in the *ninth Book* of the *Paradiſe Loſt*, when, in his addreſſes to Eve, "perſuaſive rhetorick ſleek'd his tongue." The three laſt lines are quite in this ſtyle;

" All theſe are Spirits of air, and woods, and ſprings,
 " Thy gentle miniſters, who come to pay
 " Thee homage, and acknowledge thee their Lord."

Our Lord's reply is truly ſublime;

" I can at will, doubt not, as ſoon as thou,
 " Command a table in the wilderneſs,
 " And call ſwift flights of Angels miniſtrant,
 " Array'd in glory, on my cup to attend."

This part of the Book in particular is ſo highly finiſhed, that I could wiſh it had concluded, as it might well have done, with the vaniſhing of the banquet. The preſent concluſion, from its ſubject, required another ſtyle of poetry. It has little deſcription, no machinery, and no mythological alluſions to elevate and adorn it; but it is not without a ſublimity of another kind. Satan's ſpeech, in which he aſſails our Lord with the temptation of riches as the means of acquiring greatneſs, is in a noble tone of dramattick dialogue; and the reply of our Saviour, where he rejects the offer, contains a ſeries of the fineſt moral precepts expreſſed in that plain majeſtick language, which, in many parts of Didactick Poetry, is the moſt becoming *veſtibus orationis*. Still it

must be acknowledged, that all this is much lost and obscured by the radiance and enriched descriptions of the preceding three hundred lines. These had been particularly relieved, and their beauty had been rendered more eminently conspicuous, from the studied equality and scriptural plainness of the *exordium* of this Book; which has the effect described by Cicero to the *subordinate* and *less shining* parts of any writing, “quò magis id, quod erit illuminatum, extare atque eminere videatur,” *De Orator.* iii. 101. Ed. Proust.—But the conclusion of this Book, though excellent in its kind, unfortunately, from its loco-position, appears to considerable disadvantage. Writers of Didactic Poetry, to secure the continuance of their readers’ attention, must be careful not only to diversify, but as much as possible gradually to elevate, their strain. Accordingly, they generally open their several divisions with their dryer precepts, proceed thence to more pleasing illustrations, and are particularly studious to close each Book with some description, or episode, of the most embellished and attractive kind.—

Among the various beauties, which adorn this truly divine Poem, the most distinguishable and captivating feature of excellence is the character of Christ. This is so finely drawn, that we can scarcely forbear applying to it the language of Quintilian, respecting the Olympian Jupiter of the famous sculptor Phidias; “cujus pulchritudo adjecisse aliquid etiam receptæ religioni videatur, adeò *majestas operis Deum æquavit.*” L. xii. C. 10. It is observed by Mr. Hayley, that as in the *Paradise Lost* the poet seems to emulate the sublimity of Moses and the Prophets, it appears to have been his wish in the *Paradise Regained* to copy the sweetness and simplicity of the Evangelists.”—The great object of this second Poem seems indeed to be the exemplification of true Evangelical Virtue, in the person and sentiments of our Blessed Lord. From the beginning of the THIRD BOOK to ver. 363 of the next, practical Christianity, thus personified, is contrasted with the boasted pretensions of the Heathen world, in its zenith of power, splendour, civilization, and knowledge; the several claims of which are fully stated, with much ornament of language and poetick decoration. After an *exordium* of flattering commendation addressed to our Lord, the Tempter opens his progressive display of Heathen excellence with an eulogy on Glory

{ver. 25.), which is so intrinsically beautiful, that it may be questioned whether any Roman orator or poet ever so eloquently and concisely defended the ambition of heroism : The judgement of the Author may also be noticed (ver. 31 &c.) in the selection of his heroes, two of whom, Alexander and Scipio, he has before introduced (B. ii. 196, 199,) as examples of continency and self-denial :—In short, the first speech of Satan opens the cause, for which he pleads, with all the art becoming his character.—In our Lord's reply, the *false* glory of worldly fame is stated with energetick briefness, and is opposed by the *true* glory of obedience to the Divine commands. The usual modes of acquiring glory in the Heathen world, and the intolerable vanity and pride with which it was claimed and enjoyed, are next most forcibly depicted ; and are finely contrasted with those means of acquiring honour and reputation, which are innocent and beneficial :

“ But, if there be in glory aught of good,
 “ It may by means far different be obtain'd,
 “ Without ambition, war, or violence ;
 “ By deeds of peace, by wisdom eminent,
 “ By patience, temperance.”

These lines are marked with that peculiar species of beauty, which distinguishes Virgil's description of the amiable heroes of benevolence and peace, whom he places in Elysium, together with his blameless warriors, the virtuous defenders of their country, *Æn.* vi. 660—665.

In the conclusion of the speech an heroic character of another kind is opposed to the warlike heroes of antiquity ;—one who, though a Heathen, surpassed them all in true wisdom and true fortitude. Such indeed was the character of Socrates, such his reliance on Divine Providence and his resignation thereto, that he seems to have imbibed his sentiments from a source “ above the famed Castalian spring ;” and while his demeanour eminently displays the peaceable, patient, Christian-like virtues, his language often approaches nearer than could be imagined, to that of the holy penmen,—“ *Εἰ ταύτη Θειὰ φιλων,*” says he, “ *ταύτη γινισθω.*” *Epictet.* *ΔΙΑΤΡΙΒ.* L. i. C. 29.—The artful sophistry of the Tempter's further defence of glory, and our Lord's majestically plain confutation of his arguments in the clear explanation given

of the true ground on which glory and honour are due to the great Creator of all things, and required by him,—are both admirable.—The rest of the Dialogue is well supported; and it is wound up, with the best effect, in the concluding speech, where Satan offers a vindictory explanation of his conduct, in which the dignity of the Arch-angel, (for, though “ruined,” the Satan of Milton seldom “appears less than an Arch-angel,”) is happily combined with the insinuating art and “sleeked tongue” of this grand Deceiver. The first nineteen lines are peculiarly illustrative of this double character: The transition that follows to the immediate Temptation then going on, and which paves the way for the ensuing change of scene, is managed with the happiest address.—The poet now quits mere Dialogue for that “union of the narrative and dramatick powers,” which Dr. Johnson, speaking of this Poem, observes “must ever be more pleasing than a dialogue without action.”—The description of the “specular mount,” where our Lord is placed to view at once the whole Parthian empire, at the same time that it is truly poetical, is so accurately given, that we are enabled to ascertain the exact part of Mount Taurus, which the poet had in his mind. The geographical scene, from ver. 268 to 292, is delineated with a precision that brings each place immediately before our eyes, and, as Dr. Newton remarks, far surpasses the prospect of the kingdoms of the world from “the mount of vision,” in the *eleventh Book* of the *Paradise Lost*. The military expedition of the Parthians, from ver. 300 to 336, is a picture in the boldest and most masterly style. It is so perfectly *unique* in its kind, that I know not where in Poetry, ancient or modern, to go for any thing materially resembling it. The *fifteenth Book* of Tasso’s *Jerusalem*, &c. (where the two Christian Knights, who are sent in search of Rinaldo, see a great part of the habitable world, and are shown a numerous camp of their enemies,) does not appear to have furnished a single idea to our Author, either in his geographical, or his military, scene.—The speech of Satan, (ver. 346.) professing the purpose why he showed all this to Jesus, judiciously reverts to the immediate subject of the Temptation; and, by urging our Lord to avail himself of the Parthian power, that he might gain possession of David’s throne, and free his countrymen from the Roman yoke, it applies to those patriotick feelings

which he had expressed in the *First Book* of this Poem, where he declares that one of his earliest sentiments of virtue, *more than human*, was marked with a wish "To rescue Israel from the Roman yoke." Our Lord's reply is close and pointed, and serves further to unfold the character of our great pattern of every virtue.—The same objection still lies against the conclusion of this Book, as against that of the preceding one;—by coming immediately after a part so highly finished, as the view of the Parthian power in all the splendour of a military expedition, it has not the effect it would otherwise have. It is however a necessary conclusion, and one that materially carries on the business of the Poem. An essential test of its merit is, that, however we might wish it shortened, it would scarcely have been possible to compress the matter it contains.

It has been observed of almost all the great epick poems, that they fall off, and become languid, in the conclusion. The six last books of the *Æneid*, and the twelve last of the *Odyssey*, are inferior to the preceding parts of those poems. In the *Paradise Lost* the two last books fall short of the majesty and sublimity of the rest: and so, observes Dr. Newton, do the two last books of the *Iliad*. "With the fall of our first parents," says Dr. Blair, "Milton's genius seems to decline:" and, though he admits the Angel's showing Adam the fate of his posterity to be happily imagined, "the execution," he adds, is "languid." Addison, in pointing out the particular beauties of the two last books of the *Paradise Lost*, observes that, though *these* were not looked upon as the most shining books of the poem, they ought not to be considered as *unequal parts* of it.—Perhaps the two concluding books of the *Paradise Lost* might be defended by other arguments, and justified in a more effectual manner, than has been done by Addison; but it is certainly fortunate when the subject and plan of an epick poem are such, that in the conclusion it may rise in dignity and sublimity, so as to excite to the very last the attention and admiration of the reader.—This last Book of the *Paradise Regained* is one of the finest conclusions of a poem, that can be produced. The Book of Job, which I have supposed to have been our Author's model, materially resembles it in this respect, and is perhaps the only instance that can be put in competition with it.—It has been remarked that there is not a single simile

in the *First Iliad*: neither do we meet with one in the *three first Books of the Paradise Regained*. In the beginning of the *FOURTH BOOK* the poet introduces an *Homerick* cluster of similies; which seems to mark an intention of bestowing more poetical decoration on the conclusion of the Poem, than on the preceding parts of it. —They who talk of our Author's genius being in the decline when he wrote his second Poem, and who therefore turn from it, as from a dry profaick composition, are, I will venture to say, no judges of poetry. With a fancy, such as Milton's, it must have been more difficult to forbear poetick decorations, than to furnish them; and a glaring profusion of ornament would, I conceive, have more decidedly betrayed the *poeta senescens*, than a want of it. The *first* book of the *Paradise Lost* abounds in similies, and is, in other respects, as elevated and sublime as any in the whole poem.* But here the poet's plan was totally different. Though it may be said of the *Paradise Regained*, as Longinus has said of the *Odyssey*, that it is the *epilogue* of the preceding poem, still the design and conduct of it is as different, as that of the *Georgicks* from the *Æneid*. The *Paradise Regained* has something of the *didactic* character; it teaches not merely by the general moral, and by the character and conduct of its hero, but has also many positive precepts every where interspersed. It is written for the most part in a style admirably condensed, and with a studied reserve of ornament: it is nevertheless illuminated with beauties of the most captivating kind. Its leading feature throughout is that "excellence of composition," which, as Lord Monboddo justly observes, so eminently distinguished the writings of the ancients; and in which, of all modern authors, Milton most resembles them.

At the commencement of this Book the argument of the Poem is considerably advanced. Satan appears hopeless of success, but still persisting in his enterprise. The desperate folly, and vain pertinacity, of this conduct, are perfectly well exemplified and illustrated by three apposite similies, each successively rising in beauty above the other. The business of the Temptation being thus resumed, the Tempter takes our Lord to the western side of the mountain, and shows to him Italy; the situation of which the poet marks with singular accuracy, and, having traced the Tiber from its source in the Apennines to Rome, he briefly enumerates

the most conspicuous objects that may be supposed at first to strike the eye on a distant view of this celebrated city. Satan now becomes the speaker, and, in an admirably descriptive speech, points out more particularly the magnificent publick and private buildings of ancient Rome, descanting on the splendour and power of its state, which he particularly exemplifies in the superb pomp with which their provincial magistrates proceed to their respective governments; and in the numerous ambassadours that arrive from every quarter of the habitable globe, to solicit the protection of Rome and the emperour. These are two pictures of the most highly finished kind: the numerous figures are in motion before us; we absolutely see

“ Prætors, proconsuls, to their provinces
 “ Hastening, or on return, in robes of state,
 “ Lifters and rods, the ensigns of their power,
 “ Legions and cohorts, &c.”

Having observed that such a power as this of Rome must reasonably be preferred to that of the Parthians, which he had displayed in the preceding Book, and that there were no other powers worth our Lord's attention, the Tempter now begins to apply all this to his purpose: by a strongly drawn description of the vicious and detestable character of Tiberius, he shows how easy it would be to expel him, to take possession of his throne, and to free the Roman people from that slavery in which they were then held. This he proffers to accomplish for our Lord, whom he incites to accept the offer not only from a principle of ambition, but as the best means of securing to himself his promised inheritance, the throne of David. Our Lord in reply scarcely notices the arguments which Satan had been urging to him; and only takes occasion, from the description which had been given of the splendour and magnificence of Rome, to arraign the superlatively extravagant luxury of the Romans, (possibly not without a glance at the manners of our Court at that time,) and briefly to sum up those vices and misconducts then rapidly advancing to their height, which soon brought on the decline, and in the end effectuated the fall, of the Roman power.——The next object, which our Author had in view in his proposed display of Heathen excellence, was a scene of a different, but no less in-

toxicating, kind ; Athens, in all its pride of literature and philosophy. But he seems to have been well aware that an immediate transition, from the view of Rome to that of Athens, must have diminished the effect of each. The intermediate space he has finely occupied. Our Lord, unmoved by the splendid scene displayed to captivate him, and having only been led by it to notice the vices and corruptions of the Heathen world, in the conclusion of his speech marks the vanity of all earthly power, by referring to his own future kingdom, as that which by supernatural means should destroy "all monarchies besides throughout the world."

The Fiend hereupon urged by the violence of his desperation to an indiscretion, which he had not before showed, endeavours to enhance the value of his offers by declaring that the only terms, on which he would bestow them, were those of our Lord's falling down and worshipping him. To this our Saviour answers in a speech of marked abhorrence blended with contempt. This draws from Satan a reply of as much art, and as finely written, as any in the Poem ; in which he endeavours, by an artful justification of himself, to repair the indiscretion of his blasphemous proposal, and to soften the effect of it on our Blessed Lord, so far at least as to be enabled to resume the process of his enterprise. The transition, ver. 212, to his new ground of temptation is peculiarly happy : having given up all prospect of working upon our Lord by the incitements of ambition, he now compliments him on his predilection for wisdom, and his early display of superiour knowledge ; and recommends it to him, for the purpose of accomplishing his professed design of reforming and converting mankind, to cultivate the literature and philosophy for which the most polished part of the Heathen world, and Greece in particular, was so eminent. This leads to his *View of Athens* ; which is given, with singular effect, after the preceding dialogue, where the blasphemous rage of the Tempter, and the art with which he endeavours to recover it, serve, by the variety of the subject and the interesting nature of the circumstance, materially to relieve the preceding and ensuing descriptions. The Tempter, resuming his usual plausibility of language, now becomes the Hierophant of the scene, which he describes, as he shows it, with so much accuracy, that we discern every object distinctly before us. The general view of Athens, with its most celebrated buildings and

places of learned resort, is beautiful and original; and the description of its musicians, poets, orators, and philosophers, is given with the hand of a master, and with all the fond affection of an enthusiast in Greek literature. Our Lord's reply is no less admirable; particularly where he displays the fallacy of the Heathen philosophy, and points out the errors of its most admired sects, with the greatest acuteness of argument, and at the same time in a noble strain of poetry. His contrasting the poetry and policy of the Hebrews with those of the Greeks, on the ground of what had been advanced by some learned men in this respect, is highly consistent with the argument of this Poem; and is so far from originating in that fanaticism, with which some of his ablest commentators have chosen to brand our Author, that it serves duly to counterbalance his preceding *éloge* on heathen literature. The next speech of the Tempter, ver. 368, is one of those masterpieces of plain composition, for which Milton is so eminent: the sufferings of our Blessed Lord are therein foretold with an energetic brevity, that, on such subjects, has an effect superiour to the most flowery and decorated language. The dialogue here ceases for a short time. The poet, in his own person, now describes, ver. 394, &c. our Lord's being conveyed by Satan back to the wilderness, the storm which the Tempter there raises, the tremendous night which our Lord passes, and the beautiful morning by which it is succeeded:—how exquisitely sublime and beautiful is all this!—Yet this is the Poem, from which the ardent admirers of Milton's other works turn, as from a cold, uninteresting composition, the produce of his dotage,—of a palsied hand, no longer able to hold the pencil of poetry!—The dialogue which ensues, is worthy of this Book, and carries on the subject in the best manner to its concluding Temptation. The last speech of Satan is particularly deserving our notice. The Fiend, now “swoln with rage” at the repeated failure of his attacks, breaks out into a language of gross insult, professing to doubt whether our Lord, whom he had before frequently addressed as the Son of God, is in any way entitled to that appellation. From this wantonly blasphemous obloquy he still recovers himself, and offers, with his usual art, a qualification of what he had last said, and a justification of his persisting in further attempts on the Divine Person, by whom he had been so constantly foiled. These

are the masterly discriminating touches, with which the poet has admirably drawn the character of the Tempter: The general colouring is that of plausible hypocrisy, through which, when elicited by the sudden irritation of defeat, his diabolical malignity frequently flashes out, and displays itself with singular effect.—We now come to the catastrophe of the Poem.—The Tempter conveys our Blessed Lord to the temple at Jerusalem; where the description of the holy city, and of the temple, is pleasingly drawn. Satan has now little to say; he brings the question to a decisive point, in which any persuasion of rhetorical language on his part can be of no avail; he therefore speaks in his own undisguised person and character, and his language accordingly is that of scornful insult. The result of the trial is given with the utmost brevity; and its consequences are admirably painted. The despair and fall of Satan, with its successive illustrations, ver. 562 to ver. 580, have all the boldness of Salvator Rosa; while the Angels supporting our Lord, “as on a floating couch, through the blithe air,” is a sweetly pleasing and highly finished picture from the pencil of Guido. The refreshment ministered to our Lord by the Angels is an intended and striking contrast to the luxurious banquet with which he had been tempted in the preceding part of the Poem. The Angelick Hymn, which concludes the Book, is at once poetical and scriptural: We may justly apply to it, and to this whole Poem, an observation respecting our Author, from the pen of *one*, whose penetrating genius, fine taste, and early acquaintance with the more ancient treasures of English poetry, eminently qualified him, had he lived, duly to have discharged that task, which has fallen into very inadequate hands. “To mix the waters of Jordan and Helicon in the same cup,” says Mr. Headley, “was reserved for the hand of Milton; and for him, and him only, to find the bays of Mount Olivet equally verdant with those of Parnassus.” *Biographical Sketches*, prefixed to Headley’s *Select Beauties of Ancient English Poetry*, Art. *F. Quarles*. DUNSTER.

Origin of Paradise Regained.

THE origin of this Poem is attributed to the suggestion of Ellwood the quaker. Milton had lent this friend, in 1665, his *Paradise Lost*, then completed in manuscript, at Chalfont St. Giles; desiring him to peruse it at his leisure, and give his judgement of it. On returning the Poem, Milton asked him what he thought of it: "which I modestly, but freely told him," says Ellwood in his *Life of himself*; "and, after some further discourse about it, I pleasantly said to him, 'Thou hast said much of *Paradise Lost*, but what hast thou to say of *Paradise Found*?' He made me no answer, but sat some time in a muse; then broke off that discourse, and fell upon another subject." When Ellwood afterwards waited on him in London, Milton showed him his *PARADISE REGAINED*; and, "in a pleasant tone," said to him, "*This is owing to you*; for you put it into my head by the question you put me at Chalfont; which before I had not thought of."

On this subject the Muses had not been before silent. In our own language, Giles Fletcher had published *Christ's Victorie and Triumph*, in 1611; an elegant and impressive poem in four parts, of which the second, entitled *Christ's Triumph on Earth*, describes the Temptation. To this poem, however, the *Paradise Regained* owes little obligation. Perhaps the Italian Muse might afford a hint. In the following sacred poem, consisting of ten books, "*La Humanita del Figliuolo di Dio*. In ottava rima, per Theosilo Folengo, Mantoano. Venegia, 1533," 4.^o, the fourth book treats largely of the Temptation: from which I will cite the descriptive scene, after the Devil has tempted our Lord, and has been rebuked with the reply "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, &c."

"Al suon di tanta, et tal sententia un grido
 "Lascia co'l puzzo Satanofo, et sgombra,
 "Mà d' Angeletti biondi un stolo fido
 "Ecco à la mensa l' inuitar fott' ombra,
 "Quiui la fame sù l' herbofo lido,

“ Che sol l’ humanità del figlio ingombra,
 “ Distrutta fù dapo ‘l digiun sofferto,
 “ Per suo non già, ma ben per nostro merto.”

There had been published also at Venice, in 1518, “ *La Vita et Passione di Christo*, &c. composta per Antonio Cornozano. In terza rima.” The subject of the sixth chapter of the first book is the Temptation: to which is prefixed a wooden cut, wherein Satan is represented as an old man with a long beard, offering bread to our Lord. The Tempter indeed is an *aged man*, like the Tempter of Milton, in Vischer’s cuts to the Bible, as noticed by Mr. Thyer; and in Salvator Rosa’s fine painting of the Temptation, as noticed by Mr. Dunster. See the Life of Milton in the first volume. The Devil is also represented in a monastick habit by Luca Giordano, in a picture of the Temptation, which made a part of the Dusseldorp collection. But poetry likewise seems to have painted, not seldom, the *gray dissimulation* of the Tempter in the same colours. Milton draws him in the habit of an aged Franciscan in his admirable verses *In Quint. Novembriis*. There is a poem, entitled “ *Monachos mentiti Dæmones*,” in Wierus *De Præstigiis Dæmonum*, Basil. 1583, p. 84. in which the assumed disguise is somewhat similar:

“ Ecce per obscuræ tenebrofa crepuscula noctis
 “ Obtulit ignoti se noua forma viri.
 “ *Atro tectus erat monachum simulante cucullo,*
 “ *Vtique solent raso vertice tonsus erat.*”

In Rosa’s description of the Temptation, *Christiados* lib. viii. ed. 1638. p. 178, he is also thus painted, by the adaptation of Virgilian phrases:

“ His actis, deserta petit spælæa ferarum :
 “ Hic inter vastas rupes, atque horrida lustra,
 “ Vsq̃ue quater denis jejunia longa diebus
 “ Pertulit, et totidem sine victu noctibus ullo :
 “ Hic ad radices scopuli defessus Iësus
 “ Confedit, stygiis expectans sedibus hostem. —
 — “ interea [Satan] sese transformat in ora
 “ *Terribili squalore senis, cui plurima mento*
 “ *Canities inculta jacet, &c.*
 “ Sordidus ex humero nodo dependet amictus,
 “ Et frontem obscenam rugis arat.”

There is an Italian poem, which I have not seen, entitled *Il Digiuno di Christo nel Deserto* by Giovanni Nizzoli, dated in 1611. And I observe also among the works of P. Antonio Glielmo (who died in 1644), enumerated by Crasso in his "Elogii d' huomini letterati," *Il Calvario Laureato, Poema* : a kindred subject perhaps with that of *Paradise Regained* ; the mention of which Italian title induces us to acknowledge, with gratitude, the existence of a *Calvary* in our own poetry ; of which the plan is the faultless plan of a *Paradise regained* ; the spirit is truly Miltonick ; and the language, at the same time, original.

THE
FIRST BOOK
OF
PARADISE REGAINED.

VOL. IV.

B

THE ARGUMENT. (a)

The Subject proposed. Invocation of the Holy Spirit.

—*The Poem opens with John baptizing at the river Jordan. Jesus coming there is baptized; and is attested, by the descent of the Holy Ghost, and by a voice from Heaven, to be the Son of God. Satan, who is present, upon this immediately flies up into the regions of the air: where, summoning his Infernal Council, he acquaints them with his apprehensions that Jesus is that seed of the Woman, destined to destroy all their power, and points out to them the immediate necessity of bringing the matter to proof, and of attempting, by snares and fraud, to counteract and defeat the person, from whom they have so much to dread. This office he offers himself to undertake; and, his offer being accepted, sets out on his enterprise.—In the mean time God, in the assembly of holy Angels, declares that he has given up his Son to be tempted by Satan; but foretels that the Tempter shall be completely defeated by him:—upon which the Angels sing a hymn of triumph. Jesus is led up by the Spirit into the wilderness, while he is meditating on the commencement of his great office of Saviour of Mankind. Pursuing his meditations he narrates, in a soliloquy, what divine and philanthropick impulses he had felt from his early youth, and how his mother Mary, on perceiving these dispositions in him, had acquainted him with the circumstances of his birth, and informed him that he was no less a person than the Son of God; to which he adds what his own inquiries and reflections had supplied*

(a) No edition of *Paradise Regained* had ever appeared with Arguments to the Books, before that which was published in 1795 by Mr. Dunster; from which they are adopted in this edition. Peck indeed endeavoured to supply the deficiency, in his *Memoirs of Milton*, 1740, p. 70, &c. But the arguments, which he has there given, are too diffuse; and want that conciseness and energy which distinguish Mr. Dunster's.

THE ARGUMENT.

in confirmation of this great truth, and particularly dwells on the recent attestation of it at the river Jordan. Our Lord passes forty days, fasting, in the wilderness; where the wild beasts become mild and harmless in his presence. Satan now appears under the form of an old peasant; and enters into discourse with our Lord, wondering what could have brought him alone into so dangerous a place, and at the same time professing to recognize him for the person lately acknowledged by John, at the river Jordan, to be the Son of God. Jesus briefly replies. Satan rejoins with a description of the difficulty of supporting life in the wilderness; and entreats Jesus, if he be really the Son of God, to manifest his divine power, by changing some of the stones into bread. Jesus reproves him, and at the same time tells him that he knows who he is. Satan instantly avows himself, and offers an artful apology for himself and his conduct. Our blessed Lord severely reprimands him, and refutes every part of his justification. Satan, with much semblance of humility, still endeavours to justify himself; and, professing his admiration of Jesus and his regard for virtue, requests to be permitted at a future time to hear more of his conversation; but is answered, that this must be as he shall find permission from above. Satan then disappears, and the Book closes with a short description of night coming on in the desert.

PARADISE REGAINED.

BOOK I.

I who ere while the happy garden sung
By one Man's disobedience lost, now sing
Recover'd Paradise to all mankind,

Ver. 1. *I, who ere while the happy sung
By one Man's disobedience lost, now sing
Recover'd Paradise to all mankind,]* This is plainly
an allusion to the *Ille ego qui quondam*, &c. attributed to Virgil.

Thus also Spenser :

“ Lo, I the man, whose Muse whilom did mask,
“ As time her taught, in lowly shepherd's weeds,
“ Am now enforc'd a far unfitter task,
“ For trumpets stern to change mine oaten reeds, &c.”

NEWTON.

Ver. 2. *By one Man's disobedience &c.]* The opposition of
one Man's disobedience in this verse to *one Man's obedience* in ver. 4.
is somewhat in the style and manner of St. Paul, *Rom. v. 19.*
“ *For as by ONE MAN'S DISOBEDIENCE many were made sinners ;*
so by THE OBEDIENCE OF ONE shall many be made righteous.”

NEWTON.

The argument of *Paradise Lost* was

————— “ *Man's first disobedience* ” —————

We may here compare part of a stanza of Giles Fletcher,
Christ's Triumph over Death, st. xv.

“ *A Man* was the first author of our fall,
“ *A Man* is now the author of our rise ;—

By one Man's firm obedience fully tried
 Through all temptation, and the Tempter foil'd
 In all his wiles, defeated and repuls'd, 6
 And Eden rais'd in the waste wilderness.

" And the old Serpent with a new device
 " Hath found a way himself for to beguile;
 " So he, that *all Men* tangled in his wile,
 " Is now by *one Man* caught, beguil'd with his own guile."

DUNSTER.

Ver. 3. *Recover'd Paradise*] It may seem a little odd, that Milton should impute the recovery of Paradise to this short scene of our Saviour's life upon earth, and not rather extend it to his agony, crucifixion, &c. But the reason no doubt was, that Paradise, *regained* by our Saviour's resisting the temptations of Satan, might be a better contrast to Paradise, *lost* by our first parents too easily yielding to the same seducing spirit. Besides he might, very probably, and indeed very reasonably, be apprehensive, that a subject, so extensive as well as sublime, might be too great a burden for his declining constitution, and a task too long for the short term of years he could then hope for. Even in his Paradise Lost he expresses his fears, lest he had begun too late, and left *an age too late, or cold climate, or years, should have damped his intended wing*; and surely he had much greater cause to dread the same now, and to be very cautious of launching out too far. THYER.

Ver. 7. *And Eden rais'd in the waste wilderness.*] There is, I think, a particular beauty in this line, when one considers the fine allusion in it to the curse brought upon the Paradisiacal earth by the fall of Adam,—"*Cursed is the ground for thy sake—Thorns also and thistles shall it bring forth to thee.*" THYER.

Thus in the fourth Book of this poem, ver. 523;

" And follow'd thee still on to this *waste wild.*"

Waste is an epithet which our author had annexed to *wilderness*, at an early period of his life. In his *translation of the cxxxvith Psalm*, written when he was only fifteen, he has

Thou Spirit, who ledst this glorious eremite
Into the defart, his victorious field,

“ His chosen people he did blefs

“ In the *wasteful* wildernews.”

In that instance, perhaps, he borrowed the whole phrase from his favourite Spenser: *Faery Qu.* i. i. 32.

“ Far hence (quoth he) in *wasteful* wildernews

“ His dwelling is”——

But the expression and the application of it, in this place, were evidently taken from a passage in *Isaiah*, li. 3. “ The Lord shall comfort Zion, he will comfort all her *waste places*, and he will make her *wildernews* like *Eden*, and her *defart* like the garden of the Lord.”

From whence Pope also, in his *Eloisa to Abelard*,

“ You rais’d these hallow’d walls, the defart smil’d,

“ And *Paradise* was open’d in the wild.” DUNSTER.

I may add that the precise expression, here used by Milton, is from Spenser’s translation of Virgil’s *Culex*:

“ I carried am to a *waste* wildernewse,

“ *Waste* wildernewse among Cymmerian shades.”

Ver. 8. *Thou Spirit, who ledst this glorious eremite*

Into the defart, his victorious field, &c.] This invocation is so supremely beautiful, that it is hardly possible to give the preference even to that in the opening of the *Paradise Lost*. This has the merit of more conciseness. Diffuseness may be considered as lessening the dignity of invocations on such subjects.

DUNSTER.

Ibid. ——— *who ledst this glorious eremite*

Into the defart,——] It is said, *Mat. iv. 1.* “ *Then was Jesus led up of the spirit into the wildernews, to be tempted of the devil.*” And from the Greek original *ἐρημῶς* the defart, and *ἐρημίτης* an inhabitant of the defart, is rightly formed the word *eremite*; which was used before by Milton in his *Paradise Lost*, B. iii. 474.

Against the spiritual foe, and brought't him
thence

10

By proof the undoubted Son of God, inspire,
As thou art wont, my prompted song, else mute,

And by Fairfax, in his translation of Tasso, c. xi. st. iv.
And in Italian, as well as in Latin, there is *eremita*, which the
French, and we after them, contract into *hermite*, *hermit*.

NEWTON.

Heremite had been a very common spelling, both in poetry and
prose, before Milton's time.

Ver. 11. ————— inspire,

As thou art wont, my prompted song, else mute,] In
the very fine opening of the ninth Book of the *Paradise Lost*,
Milton thus speaks of *the inspiration of the Muse*:

" If answerable style I can obtain
" Of my celestial patroness, who deigns
" Her nightly visitation, unimplor'd,
" And *dictates to me slumbering, or inspires*
" *Easy my unpremeditated verse.*"

See also his invocation of *Urania*, at the beginning of the
seventh Book.

And in the introduction to the second book of *The Reason of
Church-Government urged against Prelacy*, where he promises to
undertake something, he yet knows not what, that may be of
use and honour to his country, he adds, " This is not to be ob-
tained but by devout prayer to that Eternal Spirit, who can
enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and sends out his Se-
raphim, with the hallowed fire of his altar, to touch and purify
whom he pleases."—Here then we see, that Milton's invocations
of the Divine Spirit were not merely *exordia pro formâ*.—Indeed
his prose works are not without their invocations. DUNSTER.

Ver. 12. ————— *my prompted song, else mute,*]

Milton's third wife, who survived him many years, related of
him, that he used to compose his poetry chiefly in winter; and
on his waking in a morning would make her write down some-

And bear, through highth or depth of Nature's
 bounds,
 With prosperous wing full summ'd, to tell of deeds

times twenty or thirty verses. Being asked, whether he did not often read Homer and Virgil, she understood it as an imputation upon him for stealing from those authors, and answered with eagerness, "he stole from nobody but the Muse who inspired him;" and, being asked by a lady present who the Muse was, replied, "it was God's grace and the Holy Spirit that visited him nightly." *Newton's Life of Milton.*

M^r. Richardson also says, that "Milton would sometimes lie awake whole nights, but not a verse could he make; and on a sudden his poetical fancy would rush upon him with an *impetus* or *æstrum*." *Johnson's Life of Milton.*

Else might have been suggested by a passage of Horace's most beautiful ode to the Muse; IV. iii.

"O testudinis auræ

"Dulcem quæ strepitum, Pieri, temperas!

"O mutis quoque piscibus

"Donatura cygni, si libeat, sonum!"

Or from Quintilian; — "ipsam igitur orandi majestatem, quæ nihil dii immortales melius homini dederunt, et quæ remotâ *muta sunt omnia*, et luce præsentis et memoriæ posteritatis carent, toto animo petamus." L. xii. 11. DUNSTER.

Ver. 14. *With prosperous wing full summ'd,*] We have the like expression in *Paradise Lost*, B. vii. 421.

"They summ'd their pens —."

and it was noted there that it is a term in falconry. A hawk is said to be *full summ'd*, when all his feathers are grown, when he wants nothing of the *sum* of his feathers, "*cui nihil de SUMMA pennarum deest*," as Skinner says. NEWTON.

Milton had perhaps the following passage of Drayton in mind, *Polyolbion*, Song xi.

"The Muse from Cambria comes with *pinions summ'd* and found."

Above heroick, though in secret done, 15
 And unrecorded left through many an age;
 Worthy to have not remain'd so long unfung.

Now had the great Proclaimer, with a voice
 More awful than the sound of trumpet, cried
 Repentance, and Heaven's kingdom nigh at hand
 To all baptiz'd: To his great baptism flock'd 21
 With awe the regions round, and with them
 came

From Nazareth the son of Joseph deem'd
 To the flood Jordan; came, as then obscure,

Ver. 14. ————— of deeds

Above heroick,—] Alluding, perhaps, in the turn of
 expression, to the first verse of Lucan,

“ *Bella per Emathios plusquam civilia campos,*

“ *Jusque datum sceleri canimus.*” THYER.

Milton, in the opening of his ninth Book of the *Paradise Lost*,
 notices warlike achievements as at that time the only subjects of
heroick Song;

————— “ *the better fortitude*

“ *Of patience and heroick martyrdom*

“ *Unfung.*” DUNSTER.

Ver. 18. ————— with a voice

More awful than the sound of trumpet,] “ *Lift up
 thy voice like a trumpet,* and shew my people their transgressions.”
Isaiah, lviii. 1. And see *Heb.* xii. 18, 19. DUNSTER.

Ver. 24. *To the flood Jordan; came, &c.*] This line is cor-
 ruptly pointed both by Tickell and Fenton, after Tonson:

“ *To the flood Jordan came, as then obscure,*”

But, as Dr. Newton observes, Milton's own pointing is em-
 phatick, and worthy of repetition; “ *came* with them to the
 flood Jordan,” and “ *came, as then obscure.*”

Unmark'd, unknown ; but him the Baptist soon
 Descried, divinely warn'd, and witness bore 26
 As to his worthier, and would have resign'd
 To him his heavenly office ; nor was long
 His witness unconfirm'd : On him baptiz'd
 Heaven open'd, and in likeness of a dove 30
 The Spirit descended, while the Father's voice
 From Heaven pronounc'd him his beloved Son.
 That heard the Adversary, who, roving still
 About the world, at that assembly fam'd

Ver. 25. ————— *but him the Baptist soon*

Descried, divinely warn'd,] John the Baptist had notice given him before, that he might certainly know the Messiah by the Holy Ghost descending and abiding upon him. “*And I knew him not, but he that sent me to baptize with water, the same said unto me, Upon whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending and remaining on him, the same is he which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost,*” John, i. 33. But it appears from St. Matthew, that the Baptist knew him, and acknowledged him before he was baptized, and before the Holy Ghost descended upon him, *Mat.* iii. 14. “*I have need to be baptized of thee, and comest thou to me ?*” To account for which we must admit with Milton, that another divine revelation was made to him at this very time, signifying that this was the person, of whom we had such notice before. NEWTON.

Ver. 26. ————— *divinely warn'd,*] To comprehend the propriety of this word *divinely*, the reader must have his eye upon the Latin *DIVINITUS*, *from Heaven*, since the word *divinely* in our language scarce ever comes up to this meaning. Milton uses it in much the same sense in *Paradise Lost*, B. vii. 500.

“ She heard me thus, and though *divinely* brought.”

THYER.

Ver. 33. ————— *who, roving still*

About the world,] “ And the Lord said unto Satan,

Would not be laſt, and, with the voice divine 35
 Nigh thunder-ſtruck, the exalted Man, to whom
 Such high atteſt was given, a while ſurvey'd
 With wonder; then, with envy fraught and rage,
 Flies to his place, nor reſts, but in mid air
 To counſel ſummons all his mighty peers, 40
 Within thick clouds and dark ten-fold invol'd,
 A gloomy conſiſtory; and them amidſt,

Whence com'eſt thou? Then Satan answered the Lord, and ſaid,
*From going to and fro in the earth, and from walking up and down
 in it,*" Job, i. 7.—"*Your adverſary the Devil, as a roaring
 lion, walketh about, ſeeking whom he may devour.*" 1 Pet. v. 8.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 41. *Within thick clouds and dark ten-fold invol'd,*] Milton, in making Satan's reſidence to be *in mid air, within thick clouds and dark*, ſeems to have St. Auſtin in his eye, who, ſpeaking of the region of clouds, ſtorms, thunder, &c. ſays—"ad iſta caliginofa, id eſt, ad hunc aërem, tanquam ad carcerem, damnatus eſt diabolus, &c." *Enarr. in Pf.* 148. S. 9. Tom. 5. p. 1677. Edit. Bened. THYER.

Ver. 42. *A gloomy conſiſtory;*] This is in imitation of Virgil, *Æn.* iii. 677;

"Cernimus aſtantes nequicquam lumine torvo

"Ætnæos fratres, cœlo capita alta ferentes,

"*Concilium horrendum.*"

By the word *conſiſtory*, I ſuppoſe Milton intends to glance at the meeting of the Pope and Cardinals ſo named, or perhaps at the episcopal tribunal, to all which ſorts of courts or aſſemblies he was an avowed enemy. The phraſe *concilium horrendum* Vida makes uſe of upon a like occaſion of aſſembling the infernal Powers, *Chriſt.* lib. 1.

"Protinus acciri diros ad regia fratres

"*Limina concilium horrendum.*"

With looks aghast and sad, he thus bespake.

And Taffo also, in the very same manner; *Gier. Lib. c. iv.*
ft. 2.

“Che sia commanda il popol suo raccolto

“(*Concilio horrendo*) entro la regia foglia.” *THYER.*

Gloomy confistory is similar to the description of the same infernal council in the *Paradise Lost*, where Milton terms them a *dark divan*;

“Forth rush’d in haste the great consulting peers,

“Rais’d from their *dark divan*.” *DUNSTER.*

Confistory was the usual word in our elder poetry for an assembly; as in Hawes’s *Pastime of Pleasure*, bl. l. 1554, speaking of Venus’s court and temple, cap. xxix.

“The temple of her royall *confistory*

“Was walled all about with yvorye.”

And in Browne’s *Brit. Past.* 1616, B. i. S. i.

“In Heauen’s *confistory* ’twas decreed.”

However, see *Quodlibets of Religion and State*, 1602, written by W. Watfon, a secular priest; who, exposing the designs of the Jesuits in regard to the subjugation of England, says, that “their deepe Jesuiticall court of Parliament began at Styx in Phlegeton,” and that “the second act enacted, or statute made, in that high infernall *confistorie*, was concerning the Church and Abbey lands, &c.” pp. 92, 93. It is not improbable, that Phineas Fletcher might hence have taken the idea with which he opens his animated poem, entitled *Locustæ vel Pietas Jesuitica*, 4to. Cantab. 1627.

“Panditur Inferni limen, patet intima Ditis

“Jana, concilium magnum, Stygiôsq; Quirites

“Accitos, Rex ipse nigra in penetralia cogit.

“Olli conveniunt, volitant umbrosa per auras

“Numina, Tartarôque tumet [nunc] alta Senatu.

“Confidunt, numerôque omnes subsellia justò

“(*Concilium horrendum*) internunt, causamque fluendi

“Intenti expectant: folio tum Lucifer alto

“Insurgens, dictis umbras accendit amaris, &c.”

O ancient Powers of air, and this wide world,

Possibly Milton might now be thinking of this passage. That he had read the poem with attention, is evident. See this point further considered in the first note on Milton's verses *In Quintum Novembrii*.

Ver. 44. *O ancient Powers of air, and this wide world,*] So the devil is called in scripture *the prince of the power of the air*, Eph. ii. 2. and evil spirits are termed *the rulers of the darkness of this world*. Eph. vi. 12.

Satan here summons a council, and opens it as he did in the *Paradise Lost*: but here is not that copiousness and variety which is in the other; here are not different speeches and sentiments adapted to the different characters; it is a council without a debate; Satan is the only speaker. And the author, as if conscious of this defect, has artfully endeavoured to obviate the objection, by saying that their danger

“ admits no long debate,
 “ But must with something sudden be oppos'd.”

And afterwards,

“ no time was then
 “ For long indulgence to their fears or grief.”

The true reason is, he found it impossible to exceed or equal the speeches in his former council, and therefore has assigned the best reason he could for not making any in this. NEWTON.

The object of this council, it should be recollected, is not to debate, but merely for Satan to communicate to his compeers his apprehensions of their approaching danger, and to receive from them a sort of commission to act, in prevention of it, as circumstances might require, and as he should judge best. This gives the poet an opportunity of laying open the motives and general designs of the great antagonist of his hero. A council, with a debate of equal length to that in the second Book of the *Paradise Lost*, would have been totally disproportionate to this *brief epic*; which, from the nature of its subject, already perhaps abounds too much in speeches.—In the second book of this poem, where this infernal council is again assembled, a debate is introduced, which, though short, is very beautiful. DUNSTER.

(For much more willingly I mention air, 45
 This our old conquest, than remember Hell,
 Our hated habitation,) well ye know
 How many ages, as the years of men,
 This universe we have possess'd, and rul'd,
 In manner at our will, the affairs of earth, 50
 Since Adam and his facile consort Eve
 Lost Paradise, deceiv'd by me; though since
 With dread attending when that fatal wound
 Shall be inflicted by the seed of Eve
 Upon my head. Long the decrees of Heaven 55
 Delay, for longest time to him is short;

Ver. 45. ————— air,
This our old conquest,] *Par. Lost, B. x. 188.*

————— “ through the air,
 “ *The realm itself of Satan long usurp'd.*” DUNSTER.

Ver. 53. ————— attending] That is, *waiting, expecting*;
 from the French *attendre*. So, in *Par. Lost, B. vii. 407.*

“ Or in their pearly shells at ease attend
 “ Moist nutriment ———”

Again, *B. xi. 551.*

————— “ and patiently attend
 “ My dissolution ———” DUNSTER.

Ver. 55. ————— *Long the decrees of Heaven*

Delay, for longest time to him is short;] This observation, that “ the decrees of Heaven are long delayed,” must be understood as being limited to this particular instance; or to its being *sometimes*, not always so. Why any interval should ever occur between the decrees of the Almighty and his execution of them, a reason is immediately subjoined, which forms a peculiarly fine transition to the succeeding sentence. Time is as nothing to the Deity; long and short having in fact no existence

But his growth now to youth's full flower, displaying

All virtue, grace, and wisdom to achieve
 Things highest, greatest, multiplies my fear.
 Before him a great Prophet, to proclaim 70
 His coming, is sent harbinger, who all
 Invites, and in the consecrated stream
 Pretends to wash off sin, and fit them, so
 Purified, to receive him pure, or rather
 To do him honour as their king: All come, 75
 And he himself among them was baptiz'd;
 Not thence to be more pure, but to receive
 The testimony of Heaven, that who he is
 Thenceforth the nations may not doubt; I saw
 The Prophet do him reverence; on him, rising 80
 Out of the water, Heaven above the clouds

Ver. 74. *Purified, to receive him pure,*] Alluding to the Scripture expression, I *John*, iii. 3. "And every man that hath this hope in him, *"purifieth himself even as he is pure."* NEWTON.

Ver. 81. ——— *Heaven above the clouds*

Unfold her crystal doors;] Thus Milton, in his Latin poem on the death of Felton, Bp. of Ely, written at the age of seventeen;

"*Donec nitentes ad fores*

"*Ventum est Olympi, et regiam crystallinam, et*

"*Stratum smaragdis atrium.*"

St. Matthew (iii. 16.) says, "the Heavens were *opened*;" St. Mark (i. 10.) that they were *clown* or *rent*, *εξεσπινθη*. Thus also, *Psal* lxxviii. 23. "So he commanded the clouds above, and *opened the doors of Heaven.*" DUNSTER.

See also *Rev.* iv. 1. "After this I looked, and, behold, a door was *opened in Heaven.*"

Unfold her crystal doors ; thence on his head
 A perfect dove descend, (whate'er it meant,)
 And out of Heaven the sovran voice I heard,
 " This is my Son belov'd, in him am pleas'd."
 His mother then is mortal, but his Sire 86
 He who obtains the monarchy of Heaven :
 And what will he not do to advance his Son ?
 His first-begot we know, and fore have felt,
 When his fierce thunder drove us to the deep : 90

Ver. 83. *A perfect dove descend,*] He had expressed it before, ver. 30. *in likeness of a dove*, agreeably to St. Matthew, "*the Spirit of God descending like a dove*," iii. 16. and to St. Mark, "*the Spirit like a dove descending upon him*," i. 10. But as Luke says, that *the Holy Ghost descended in a bodily shape*, iii. 22, the poet supposes with Tertullian, Austin, and others of the fathers, that it was a real dove, as the painters always represent it.

NEWTON.

Vida, like Milton, describes the Holy Ghost descending as a " perfect dove ;" *Christ*. iv. 214.

" Protinus aurifluo Jordanes gurgite fulsit,
 " Et superûm vasto intonuit domus alta fragore :
 " Insup̄er et cœli claro delapsa columba est
 " Vertice per purum, candenti argentea pluma
 " Terga, sed auratis circum et rutilantibus alis :
 " Jámque viam late signans super astitit ambos,
 " Cœlestique aurâ pendens afflavit utrumque.
 " Vox simul et magni rubrà genitoris ab æthrâ
 " Audita est, nati dulcem testantis amorem."

DUNSTER.

Ver. 87. *He who obtains the monarchy of Heaven :*] *Obtains* is in the sense of *obtineo* in Latin ; *to hold, retain, or govern*.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 89. ————— *and fore have felt,*
When his fierce thunder drove us to the deep :] In

Who this is we must learn, for Man he seems
 In all his lineaments, though in his face
 The glimpses of his Father's glory shine.
 Ye see our danger on the utmost edge
 Of hazard, which admits no long debate, 95

reference to the sublime description, in the *Paradise Lost*, of the Messiah driving the rebel Angels out of Heaven, B. vi. 834, &c.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 91. *Who this is we must learn,*] Our author favours the opinion of those writers, Ignatius and others among the ancients, and Beza and others among the moderns, who believed that the Devil, though he might know Jesus to be some extraordinary person, yet knew him not to be the Messiah, the Son of God.

NEWTON.

It was requisite for the poet to assume this opinion, as it is a necessary hinge on which part of the poem turns. DUNSTER.

Ver. 94. ————— on the utmost edge

Of hazard,] Dr. Newton says, this is borrowed from Shakspeare's *All's well that ends well*, A. iii. S. iii.

“ We'll strive to bear it, for your worthy sake,

“ *To the extreme edge of hazard;*”——

It is certainly a strong coincidence of expression. But Milton may be supposed to have had in his mind a passage in Homer : from whom Shakspeare might also have borrowed a metaphor so perfectly Grecian, by the means of his friend Chapman's version. See *Il.* x. 173.

Νῦν γὰρ δὴ πάντισιν ἔπι κρητὸν ἵσταται ἄκμῃς·

Ἥ μάλ' ἀνδρὸς ὀλεθρὸς Ἀχαιῶν, καὶ βιῶναι.

For the very frequent use of *ἔπι ξυρῇ ἀκμῇς*, among the Greek writers, see a note of Valckenaer on *Herodotus*, l. vi. c. 11.— And Warton on *Theocritus*, *Idyll.* xxii. 6.

Milton has twice used nearly the same expression in his *Paradise Lost*;

————— “ on the perilous edge

“ Of battle, when it rag'd,”—— B. i. 276.

But must with something fudden be oppos'd,
(Not force, but well-couch'd fraud, well-woven
snares,)

Ere in the head of nations he appear,
Their king, their leader, and supreme on earth.
I, when no other durst, sole undertook 100
The dismal expedition to find out

“ On the rough *edge* of battle, ere it join'd,”——

B. vi. 108.

where I am not a little surpris'd to find Dr. Newton and Dr. Jortin both endeavouring to trace out the phrase, without being at all aware that it was so common an expression among the Greeks, as to be quite proverbial. See Lucian, *Jupit. Tagæd.* tom. ii. p. 605. Ed. Reitz. DUNSTER.

Milton, I observe, uses this proverbial expression literally in English: “ We never leave subtilizing and casuisting, till we have straitned and pared that liberal path into a *razor's edge* to walk on, between a precipice of unnecessary mischief on either side.” *Prose-W.* vol. i. p. 321. ed. 1698.

Ver. 97. ———— *well-couch'd fraud,*] So it is said of the Devil, as Mr. Dunster also has observed, that he “ was the first

“ That practis'd *falsehood* under faintly shew,

“ Deep malice to conceal, *couch'd* with revenge.”

Par. Lost. B. iv. 121.

And I find in his *Prose-Works*, that *flattery* is called “ that deceitful and *close-coucht* evil.” vol. i. p. 141. ed. 1698.

Ibid. ———— *well-woven snares,*] Thus Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 609.

——— “ *fraus innexa clienti;*”

And Silius Italicus, iii. 233;

——— “ *docilis fallendi, et necere tellos*

“ *Arte dolos.*”—— DUNSTER.

Ver. 100. I, *when no other durst, sole undertook*
The dismal expedition &c.] The fear and unwill.

And ruin Adam ; and the exploit perform'd
 Succesfully : a calmer voyage now
 Will waft me ; and the way, found prosperous
 once,

Induces best to hope of like succefs. 105

He ended, and his words impressiõ left
 Of much amazement to the infernal crew,
 Distracted and surpris'd with deep difmay
 At these sad tidings ; but no time was then
 For long indulgence to their fears or grief : 110
 Unanimous they all commit the care
 And management of this main enterprife

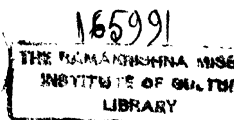
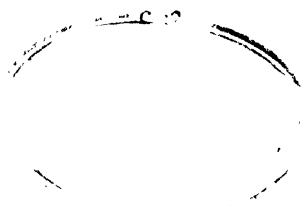
lingness of the other fallen Angels to undertake this dismal expedition, is thus described in the *Paradise Lost*, B. ii. 420.

————— “ All sat mute,
 “ Pondering the danger with deep thoughts ; and each
 “ In others countenance read his own difmay
 “ Astonish'd : none, among the choice and prime
 “ Of those heaven-warring champions, could be found
 “ So hardy as to proffer or accept
 “ Alone the dreadful voyage ———”

The Speech of Satan, which follows, is supremely excellent. I cannot but figure to myself the poet, conscious of its sublime merit, referring in this place with secret satisfaction to the highly-finished conclusion of it, 445-466, DUNSTER.

Ver. 103. ———— *a calmer voyage now*
Will waft me ;] Thus, in *Paradise Lost*, B. ii.
 1041, where Satan begins to emerge out of chaos, it is said the remainder of the journey became so much easier,

“ That Satan with less toil, and now with ease,
 “ *Waits on the calmer wave ———*” DUNSTER.



To him, their great dictator, whose attempt
 At first against mankind so well had thriv'd
 In Adam's overthrow, and led their march 115
 From Hell's deep-vaulted den to dwell in light,
 Regents, and potentates, and kings, yea Gods,
 Of many a pleasant realm and province wide.
 So to the coast of Jordan he directs
 His easy steps, girded with snaky wiles, 120

Ver. 113. *To him, their great dictator,*] Milton applies this title very properly to Satan in his present situation; as the authority he is now vested with is quite dictatorial, and the expedition on which he is going of the utmost consequence to the fallen Angels. THYER.

Ver. 119. — *to the coast of Jordan*] The wilderness, where our Saviour underwent his forty days temptation, was on the same bank of Jordan where the baptism of John was; St. Luke witnessing it, that Jesus being now baptized, ἐπιστρέψας ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, returned from Jordan. NEWTON.

Ver. 120. *His easy steps,*] In reference, (as Dr. Newton has observed,) to the calmness or easiness of his present expedition, compared with the danger and difficulty of his former one to ruin mankind. Accordingly Satan in the conclusion of his speech had said,

————— “ a calmer voyage now
 “ Shall waft me; ” —————

But *easy steps* seem here also to include an intended contrast with a passage in the first Book of the *Paradise Lost*, where Satan walks with his spear

————— “ to support *uneasy steps*
 “ Over the burning marle.” DUNSTER.

Ibid. ————— *girded with snaky wiles,*] *Girded with snaky wiles* alludes to the habits of forcerers and necromancers, who are represented in some prints as girded about the middle with the skins of snakes and serpents. NEWTON.

Where he might likeliest find this new-declar'd,
 This Man of men, attested Son of God,
 Temptation and all guile on him to try ;
 So to subvert whom he suspected rais'd
 To end his reign on earth, so long enjoy'd : 125
 But, contrary, unweeting he fulfill'd
 The purpos'd counsel, pre-ordain'd and fix'd,
 Of the Most High ; who, in full frequency bright
 Of Angels, thus to Gabriel smiling spake.

But *girded* here seems used only in a metaphorical sense ; as in Scripture the Christian, properly armed, is described having his "*hinc GIRT about with truth*," (Ephes. vi. 14.) "*Girded with snaky wiles*" is equivalent to the "*dolis instructus*" of Virgil, *Æn.* ii. 152. Thus also, in the beginning of the third Book of this poem, Satan is described,

" At length collecting all his serpent wiles." DUNSTER.

Ver. 128. ————— in full frequency] Thus, in the *Paradise Lost*, B. i. 794 ;

" A thousand demi-gods on golden seats,
 " Frequent and full."

And he has the same expression of *full frequency*, in the second Book of this poem, ver. 130. DUNSTER.

Ver. 129. ————— thus to Gabriel smiling spake.] This speech is properly addressed to Gabriel, among the Angels, as he seems to have been the Angel particularly employed in the embassies and transactions relating to the Gospel. Gabriel was sent to inform Daniel of the famous prophecy of the seventy weeks ; Gabriel notified the conception of John the Baptist to his father Zacharias, and of our blessed Saviour to his Virgin Mother. The Jewish Rabbis say that Michael was the minister of severity, but Gabriel of mercy : accordingly our poet makes Gabriel the guardian angel of Paradise, and employs Michael to expel our first parents out of Paradise : and for the same reason this speech is directed to Gabriel in particular. NEWTON.

Gabriel, this day by proof thou shalt behold, 130
 Thou and all Angels conversant on earth
 With man or men's affairs, how I begin
 To verify that solemn message, late
 On which I sent thee to the Virgin pure
 In Galilee, that she should bear a son, 135

Tasso, speaking of Gabriel, who is the Messenger of the Deity to Godfrey, in the opening of the *Gerusalemme Liberata*, says

“ E tra Dio questi e l' anime migliori
 “ Interprete fedel, nuncio giocondo :
 “ Già i decreti del ciel porta, ed al cielo
 “ Riporta dè mortali i preghi, e 'l zelo.” DUNSTER.

Ibid. ————— smiling *spake*.] *Smiling* is here no casual expletive. It is a word of infinitely fine effect, and is particularly meant to contrast the description of Satan, in the preceding part of the Book, where his “ gloomy confistory” of infernal Peers, it is said,

“ *With looks agbaf and sad* he thus bespake.”

The *benevolent smile* of the Deity is finely described by Virgil, *Æn.* i. 254.

“ Olli *subridens* hominum fator atque Deorum,
 “ *Vultu, quo cælum tempestatéſque ſerenat.*” DUNSTER.

Ver. 130. ————— *by proof*] This is an allusion to the old trial by combat. The *duel*, or *trial by combat*, is defined by Fleta, “ *Singularis pugna inter duos ad probandam veritatem litis, et qui vicit probaſſe intelligitur.*”

Thus in the opening of this poem ;

————— “ and brought’st him thence

“ *By proof* the undoubted Son of God” — DUNSTER.

Ver. 131. *Thou and all Angels conversant on earth
 With man or men's affairs,*] This seems to be taken from the verses attributed to Orpheus ;

“ *Ἀγγέλαι, οἷσι μέμλεθ βροτοῖς ὡς πάντα τελευταί.* NEWTON,

Great in renown, and call'd the Son of God ;
Then told'st her, doubting how these things
could be

To her a virgin, that on her should come
The Holy Ghost, and the power of the Highest
O'ershadow her. This Man, born and now up-
grown,

140

To show him worthy of his birth divine
And high prediction, henceforth I expose
To Satan ; let him tempt, and now assay
His utmost subtlety, because he boasts
And vaunts of his great cunning to the throng 145
Of his apostasy : he might have learnt

Ver. 137. *Then told'st her,*] Milton sometimes, from a wish to compress, latinises, so as to obscure and confuse his language considerably.—The sense, which he intends here, is plainly *Thom told'st her* &c. ; so that *told'st* is used here as equivalent to the Latin *dixisti*, with its pronominal nominative understood ; but which our language positively requires to be expressed, unless where the verb is connected by a conjunction with some other verb dependent on the same pronoun. He has adopted the same mode of writing in other places ; particularly ver. 221, of this Book,

“ Yet held it more humane, &c.”

where the passage is perfectly confused for want of the pronoun *I*. See also ver. 85 of this Book.

We may in this respect apply to our author what Cicero has said of the ancient orators ; “ *Grandes erant verbis, crebri sententiis, compressione rerum breves, et ob eam ipsam causam interdum subobscuri.*” Brutus, 29. Ed. Proust. DUNSTER.

Ver. 144. ————— *because he boasts*

And vaunts of his great cunning to the throng

Of his apostasy :] This alludes to what Satan

had just before said to his companions, ver. 100 ;

Less overweening, since he fail'd in Job,
 Whose constant perseverance overcame
 Whate'er his cruel malice could invent.
 He now shall know I can produce a Man, 150
 Of female seed, far abler to resist
 All his sollicitations, and at length
 All his vast force, and drive him back to Hell;
 Winning, by conquest, what the first Man lost,
 By fallacy surpris'd. But first I mean 155
 To exercise him in the wilderness;
 There he shall first lay down the rudiments
 Of his great warfare, ere I send him forth

“ I, when no other durst, sole undertook &c.”

THYER.

Ver. 145. ————— *the throng*
Of his apostasy :] Thus, *Par. Lost*, B. ix. 142 ;
 ————“ and thinner left *the throng*
 “ *Of his adorers*”—————

Of his apostasy : i. e. of his apostates. In the twelfth Book
 of the *Paradise Lost*, there is the same figure of speech, where
 the Angel describes Abraham passing over the Euphrates, followed
 by

—————“ a cumbrous train
 “ Of flocks and herds, and numerous *servitude*.”

DUNSTER.

Ver. 157. ————— *the rudiments*
Of his great warfare,] Virg. *Æn.* xi. 156.
 “ *Primitiæ juvenis miseræ, bellique propinqui*
 “ *Dura rudimenta*”—————

And Statius, *Sylv.* v. ii. 3.

“ *Quod si militiæ jam te, puer inclyte, primæ*
 “ *Clara rudimenta, et castrorum dulce vocaret*
 “ *Auspicium*”————— DUNSTER.

To conquer Sin and Death, the two grand foes,
 By humiliation and strong sufferance: 160
 His weakness shall o'ercome Satanick strength,
 And all the world, and mass of sinful flesh,
 That all the Angels and ethereal Powers,
 They now, and Men hereafter, may discern,
 From what consummate virtue I have chose 165
 This perfect Man, by merit call'd my Son,
 To earn salvation for the sons of men.

Ver. 161. *His weakness shall overcome Satanick strength,*] Thus in the *first Epistle to the Corinthians*, c. i. ver. 27. “*And God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty.*”

But the proper reference here is more probably to the *second* verse of the *eighth Psalm*. “*Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained strength, because of thine enemies; and that thou mightest still the enemy and the avenger.*” This Psalm is considered by commentators as a *ψαλμὸς ἐπινίκιος*: Bp. Patrick supposes it to have been composed by David after his victory over Goliath, “*which,*” he adds, “*was a lively emblem of Christ’s conquest over our great enemy.*” This latter is clearly the prophetick sense of the verse just cited; which is accordingly referred to as such by our Lord himself, *Matt. xxi. 16.*

We may compare *Par. Lost*, B. xii. 567. DUNSTER.

Ver. 162. *And all the world,*] “*I have overcome the world.*” John xvi. 33. DUNSTER.

Ver. 163. *That all the Angels and ethereal Powers,
 They now, and Men hereafter, may discern,
 From what consummate virtue I have chose
 This perfect Man, by merit call'd my Son,
 To earn salvation for the sons of men.*] Not a word is said here of the Son of God, but what a Socinian would allow. His divine nature is artfully concealed under a partial and ambiguous representation: and the Angels are first to learn

So spake the Eternal Father, and all Heaven
 Admiring stood a space, then into hymns
 Burst forth, and in celestial measures mov'd, 170

the mystery of the Incarnation from that important conflict, which is the subject of this poem. They are seemingly invited to behold the triumphs of the *Man* Christ Jesus over the enemy of mankind; and these surprise them with the glorious discovery of the *God*,

—————“ enshrin'd
 “ In fleshly tabernacle and human form.”

The Father, speaking to his eternal Word, *Par. Lost*, B. iii. 308, on his generous undertakings for mankind, faith,

—————“ and hast been found
 “ By merit more than birthright Son of God.”

CALTON.

Ver. 168. *So spake the Eternal Father, and all Heaven*

Admiring stood a space,] We cannot but take notice of the great art of the poet, in setting forth the dignity and importance of his subject. He represents all beings as interested one way or other in the event. A council of Devils is summoned; an assembly of Angels is held. Satan is the speaker in the one; the Almighty in the other. Satan expresses his diffidence, but still resolves to make trial of this Son of God; the Father declares his purpose of proving and illustrating his Son. The infernal crew are distracted and surprised with deep dismay; all Heaven stands awhile in admiration. The fiends are silent through fear and grief; the Angels burst forth into singing with joy and the assured hopes of success. And their attention is thus engaged, the better to engage the attention of the reader. NEWTON.

Ver. 169. ————— *then into hymns*

Burst forth, and in celestial measures mov'd,

Circling the throne and singing,] Milton, we may

suppose, had here in his mind the ancient chorus. In his original plan of the *Paradise Lost*, under a dramatick form, he proposed to introduce a chorus of Angels. The drama seems to have

Circling the throne and finging, while the hand
Sung with the voice, and this the argument.

been his favourite species of poetry, and that which particularly caught and occupied his imagination: so at least we may judge from the numerous plans of tragedies which he left behind him. Indeed he has frequent allusions to dramattick compositions in all his works. DUNSTER.

Milton perhaps, at this time, had in mind Dante's representation of the Angels formed into choirs, and finging praises to the Eternal Father, in his *Paradiso*, c. xxviii.

Ver. 171. ————— while the hand

Sung with the voice,] We have nearly the same phrase in Tibullus, iii. iv. 41;

“ Sed postquam fuerant *digiti cum voce locuti*,

“ Edidit hæc dulci tristitia verba modo.”

The word *hand* is used again in this poem, B. iv. 254. to distinguish instrumental harmony from vocal;

“ There thou shalt hear and learn the secret power

“ Of harmony, in tones and numbers hit

“ By *voice or hand*.”

Also in the *Arcades*, v. 77;

“ If my inferiour *hand or voice* could hit

“ Inimitable sounds.” CALTON.

So, in Lucretius, iv. 588.

“ Chordarúmque fonos fieri, dulcésque querelas,

“ Tibia quas fundit *digitis* pulsata *canentum* :”

Cano signifies not only *to sing*, but also *to perform on any instrument*. Thus Asconius Pædianus, in *Verrem*; “ Cum *canunt* citharistæ, utriusque manus funguntur officio: dextra plectro utitur, et hoc est *foris canere*; sinistra digitis chordas carpit, et hoc est *intus canere*.” DUNSTER.

This expression occurs in the beautiful version of the cxxxviiith *Psalms*, which I notice in the Account of Lawes. See the preliminary illustrations of *Comus*.

Victory and triumph to the Son of God,
Now entering his great duel, not of arms,

“ Nor may we our hymns prophane ;

“ Or tune either *voice* or *band*,

“ To delight a savage band.”

So, in Carew's elegant *Mask*, *Coelum Britannicum*, 1634.

—————“ Harmony, that not resides

“ In strings or notes, but in the *band* and *voice*.”

Ver. 174. *Now entering his great duel*,] If it be not a contradiction, it is at least inaccurate in Milton, to make an Angel say in *Par. Lost*, B. xii. 386. “ Dream not of their fight as of a duel”—and afterwards to make the Angels express it here in the metaphor of a *duel*. NEWTON.

There is, I think, a meanness in the customary sense of the word *duel*, that makes it unworthy of these speakers, and of this occasion. The Italian *duello*, if I am not mistaken, bears a stronger sense, and this I suppose Milton had in view. THYER.

Milton might rather be supposed to look to the Latin ; where *duellum* is equivalent to *bellum*. See Hor. I *Epist.* ii. 6. and *Ode* IV. xiv. 18. {675}

But *duel* here is used by our author in its most common acceptation of *single combat* ; and *now entering his great duel* means “ now entering the lists to prove, in personal combat with his avowed antagonist and appellant, the reality of his own divinity.” See note on ver. 130, of this Book.

In the opening of this poem we may notice allusions to the *duel* or *trial by combat* ;

—————“ the tempter *foi'd*,

“ In all his wiles *defeated* and *repuls'd*.”

And in the Invocation,

“ Thou Spirit, who ledst this glorious eremite

“ Into the desert, his *victorious field*,

“ Against the spiritual *foe*, and brought'st him thence

“ By *proof* the undoubted Son of God”—

But to vanquish by wisdom hellish wiles ! 175
 The Father knows the Son ; therefore secure
 Ventures his filial virtue, though untried,
 Against whate'er may tempt, whate'er seduce,
 Allure, or terrify, or undermine.
 Be frustrate, all ye stratagems of Hell, 180
 And, devilish machinations, come to nought !
 So they in Heaven their odes and vigils tun'd :
 Mean while the Son of God, who yet some days

Indeed the *Paradise Regained* absolutely exhibits the temptation of our blessed Saviour in the light of a duel, or personal contest, between him and the Arch-enemy of mankind ; in which our Lord, by his divine patience, fortitude, and resignation to the will of his heavenly Father, vanquishes the wiles of the Devil. He thereby attests his own superiority over his antagonist, and his ability to restore the lost happiness of mankind, by *regaining Paradise* for them, and by rescuing and redeeming them from that power, which had led them captive. DUNSTER.

Ver. 175. *But to vanquish.*] Milton lays the accent on the last syllable in *vanquish*, as elsewhere in *triumph* ; and in many places he imitates the Latin and Greek prosody, and makes a vowel long before two consonants. JORTIN.

The accent upon the last syllable of *triumph* was common in Milton's time ; and the accent upon the last syllable also of *vanquish* may be paralleled by a passage in Shakspeare's *Hen.* VI. Part I. A. iii. S. iii.

“ I am *vanquish'd* ; these haughty words of hers

“ Have batter'd me like roaring cannon-shot.”

Ver. 182. *So they in Heaven their odes and vigils tun'd ;*

Mean while the Son of God,] How nearly does the poet here adhere to the same way of speaking which he had used in *Paradise Lost* on the same occasion, B. iii. 416 !

“ Thus they in Heaven, above the starry sphere,

“ Their happy hours in joy and *hymning* spent.

Lodg'd in Bethabara, where John baptiz'd,
 Musing, and much revolving in his breast, 185
 How best the mighty work he might begin
 Of Saviour to mankind, and which way first
 Publish his God-like office now mature,
 One day forth walk'd alone, the Spirit leading
 And his deep thoughts, the better to converse 190

" *Mean while* upon the firm opacous globe

" Of this round world, &c." THYFR.

Ver. 182. ————— *vigils tun'd* ;] This is a very uncommon expression, and not easy to be understood, unless we suppose, that by *vigils*, the poet means those songs which they sung while they kept their watches. Singing of hymns is their manner of keeping their *wakes* in Heaven. And I see no reason why their evening service may not be called *vigils*, as their morning service is called *matins*. NEWTON.

The evening service in the Roman Catholick churches is called *vespers*. There was formerly a nocturnal service called *vigils*, or *nocturns*, which was chanted and accompanied with musick.

Ducange explains *vigilie* " *ipsum officium nocturnum quod in vigiliis nocturnis olim decantabatur*."—The old writers often speak of the *vigiliarum cantica*. DUNSTER.

Ver. 183. ————— *who yet some days*

Lodg'd in Bethabara, where John baptiz'd,] The poet, I presume, said this upon the authority of the first chapter of St. John's gospel, where certain particulars, which happened several days together, are related concerning the Son of God, and it is said, ver. 28. " *These things were done in Bethabara beyond Jordan, where John was baptizing*." NEWTON.

Ver. 185. ————— *much revolving in his breast*,] Virg. *Æn.* x. 890.

" *Multa movens animo* " ————— DUNSTER.

Ver. 189. *One day forth walk'd alone, the Spirit leading
 And his deep thoughts,*] In what a fine light does

With solitude, till, far from track of men,
 Thought following thought, and step by step
 led on,
 He enter'd now the bordering desert wild,
 And, with dark shades and rocks environ'd round,

Milton here place that text of Scripture, where it is said that *Jesus was led up of the Spirit into the wilderness!* He adheres strictly to the inspired historian, and at the same time gives it a turn which is extremely poetical. THYER.

Ver. 190. ————— *the better to converse*
With solitude,] So, in *Comus*, v. 375.

—————"Wisdom's self
 " Oft seeks to sweet retired solitude." DUNSTER.

But the poet here perhaps alludes to the sacred text, where it is said of our Saviour, that, "in the morning, rising up a great while before day, he went out, and departed into a solitary place, and there prayed," *Mark* i. 35. See also *Matt.* xiv. 23.

Ver. 193. *He enter'd now the bordering desert wild,*
And, with dark shades and rocks environ'd round,]

The wilderness, in which John preached the gospel, and where Jerusalem, and all Judea, and all the region round about Jordan went out to him and were baptized in Jordan, we are expressly told by St. Matthew, iii. 1, was the wilderness of Judea; which extended from the river Jordan all along the western side of the Asphaltick Lake, or Dead Sea. The different parts of this wilderness had different names, from the neighbouring cities or mountains; thus 1 Sam. xxiii. 14. it is called the wilderness of Ziph, and, xxiv. 1. the wilderness of Engaddi. The word מדרבר in Scripture, which in our version is rendered wilderness or desert, does not mean a country absolutely barren or uninhabited, but only uncultivated. Indeed in the 15th chapter of *Joshua*, where the cities of Judah are enumerated, we read of six cities in the wilderness. Of these Engaddi stood nearest to the river Jordan, and the northern end of the Dead Sea. The desert,

His holy meditations thus pursued. 195

O, what a multitude of thoughts at once
Awaken'd in me swarm, while I consider
What from within I feel myself, and hear
What from without comes often to my ears,
Ill fort'ning with my present state compar'd ! 200

where Milton, following what could be collected from Scripture, now places our Lord, we may suppose then to be that part of the wilderness of Judea, in the neighbourhood of Engaddi. The wildernesses, or uncultivated parts of Judea, appear chiefly to have been forests and woods, *lucus jethuon et jethusa*. (See Reland's *Palästina*, I. i. c. 56. *de lucis incultis et silvis Palæstinæ*.) About Engaddi also there were many mountains and rocks. David is described (1 Sam. xxiii. 29.) dwelling *in strong holds at Engaddi*; and of Saul, when in pursuit of him, (xxiv. 2.) it is said that *he went to seek David and his men upon the rocks of the wild goats*.

The "bordering desert" then is the rocky uncultivated forest country nearest to that part of Jordan where John had been baptizing, and our blessed Lord is accordingly, with the greatest accuracy of description, there represented, as entering

—————"now the bordering desert wild,
"And with dark shades and rocks environ'd round."

It should be observed, that D Anville, in the map of Palestine in his *Geographie Ancienne*, has laid down Bethabara wrong. He places it towards the northern end of that part of Jordan, which flows from the lake of Genezaret into the Dead Sea; and on the eastern bank of the river; almost opposite Enon. But it is nearly certain, that it really stood, as bishop Pearce supposes, (see his note on John i. 28.) at the southern end of the river Jordan, on the western bank; and within a little distance of the wilderness, being only a very few miles from the Dead Sea.—An opportunity of considering this more fully will occur, towards the beginning of the second book of this Poem. DUNSTER.

When I was yet a child, no childish play
 To me was pleasing; all my mind was set
 Serious to learn and know, and thence to do
 What might be publick good; myself I thought
 Born to that end, born to promote all truth, 205
 All righteous things: therefore, above my years,
 The law of God I read, and found it sweet,

Ver. 201. *When I was yet a child, no childish play*

To me was pleasing;] How finely and consistently does Milton here imagine the youthful meditations of our Saviour! How different from, and superiour to, that superstitious trumpery, which one meets with in the *Evangelium Infantie*, and other such apocryphal trash! Vid. Fabricii *Cod. Apoc. N. Test.*

THYER.

Dr. Jortin was of opinion, that Milton might here allude to Callimachus's account of Jupiter's infantine disposition, *Hymn in Jov. v. 56*. Dr. Newton produced a similar description of Demophilus by Pindar, *Pyth. Od. iv. 501*. And Mr. Dunster has added an apposite passage from Plutarch's Life of Cato. But the conclusion, made by Dr. Newton, still applies "Our author might allude to those passages, but he *certainly did* allude to the words of the apostle, *I Cor. xiii. 11*, only inverting the thought, *When I was a child, I spake as a child, &c.*"

Ver. 204. ————— *myself I thought*

Born to that end, born to promote all truth,]

Alluding to our Saviour's words, *John xviii. 37*. "To this end *was I born*, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth." NEWTON.

Ver. 206. ————— *therefore, above my years,*

The law of God I read, &c.] This has a resemblance of Virgil's, *Æn. ix. 311*.

"*Ante annos animúmque gerens curámque virilem.*"

And thus Spenser, *Faer. Qu. ii. ii. 15*.

"Ne in her speech, ne in her haviour,

"Was lightness seen, or looser vanity,

Made it my whole delight, and in it grew
 To such perfection, that, ere yet my age
 Had measur'd twice six years, at our great feast
 I went into the temple, there to hear 211
 The teachers of our law, and to propose
 What might improve my knowledge or their
 own ;

“ But gracious womanhood, and *gravity*

“ *Above the reason of her youthful years.*” DUNSTER.

Ver. 207. *The law of God I read, and found it sweet,
 Made it my whole delight,*] “ How sweet are
 thy words unto my taste ! yea, sweeter than honey to my mouth !”
Psaln cxix. 103.

“ And his delight is in the law of the Lord ; and in his law
 doth he meditate day and night.” *Psaln* i. 2. DUNSTER.

Ver. 209. ———— *ere yet my age*

Had measur'd twice six years,] The following
 verses of Statius bear a resemblance not only to this immediate
 passage, but also to some of the preceding lines, *Sylv.* v. ii. 12.

————— “ *Ostens bis jam tibi circit annus*

“ *Vita ; sed angustus animus obfistat annis,*

“ *Succumbitque oneri, et mentem sua non capit etas.*”

DUNSTER.

Ver. 209. ———— *that ere yet my age*

Had measur'd twice six years, at our great feast

I went into the temple, there to hear

The teachers of our law, and to propose

What might improve my knowledge or their own ;]

Though Milton, in one of his early poems, has paid a tribute
 of respect to the “ *trump of Cicerona,*” it is but seldom that
 we can trace him to any part of the *Christiad*. There is how-
 ever some resemblance here to the description, in that poem, of
 Jesus at this early age, when at Jerusalem, at the Feast of the
 Passover, going into the Temple, and *sitting in the midst of the*

And was admir'd by all : yet this not all
 To which my spirit aspir'd ; victorious deeds 215
 Flam'd in my heart, heroick acts ; one while
 To rescue Israel from the Roman yoke,
 Then to subdue and quell, o'er all the earth,
 Brute violence and proud tyrannick power,
 Till truth were freed, and equity restor'd : 220

doctors, both hearing them and asking them questions. Joseph, who is made by Vida to narrate the early part of our Saviour's life, describes himself and Mary, after having missed Jesus on their road, returning to Jerufalem, and finding him in the temple, as he is here described. *Christ.* iii. 947.

“ Ecce sacerdotum in medio conspeximus illum,
 “ (Prima rudimenta, et virtutis signa futura,)
 “ Alta recensentem vatum monumenta, patrúmque
 “ Primores ultro scitantes obscura, docentémque.
 “ Illum omnes admirari haud vulgata canentem
 “ Supra aciem, captúmque hominis, mentémque vigentem,
 “ Humanâ non vi edoctum, non arte magistrâ,
 “ Maturúmque animi nimium puerilibus annis.”

DUNSTER.

Ver. 214. *And was admin'd by all :*] “ And all that heard him were astonished at his understanding and answers.” *Luke* ii. 47. NEWTON.

Ver. 218. *Then to subdue and quell, o'er all the earth,
 Brute violence and proud tyrannick power,*] Milton here carries his republican principles to the greatest height, in supposing the overthrow of all monarchy to have been one of the objects of our Lord's early contemplations.

He sings in nearly the same strain in his *Samson Agonistes*, v. 1268, &c. where Mr. Warton (*Note on Sonnet xvi.*) considers him as intending a panegyrick to the memory of Cromwell and his deliverance. DUNSTER.

Yet held it more humane, more heavenly, first
 By winning words to conquer willing hearts,
 And make persuasion do the work of fear;
 At least to try, and teach the erring soul,
 Not wilfully misdoing, but unaware 225
 Misled; the stubborn only to subdue.
 These growing thoughts my mother soon per-
 ceiving,
 By words at times cast forth, inly rejoic'd,

Ver. 221. *Yet held it more humane, more heavenly, first*] The true spirit of toleration breathes in these lines, and the sentiment is very fitly put into the mouth of him, who *came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them.* NEWTON.

Ver. 222. *By winning words to conquer willing hearts,*] Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 561.

—————“ victorque volentes

“ Per populos dat jura”—————

which expression of Virgil seems to be taken from Xenophon, *Oeconomic.* xxi. 12. Οὐ γὰρ πάντα μοι δοκεῖ ἅλοι τῶν τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἀνθρώπων εἶναι, ἀλλὰ εὖτον, τὸ ἐθελούων ἀρχεῖν. JORTIN.

Ver. 226. ———— *the stubborn only to subdue.*] This is Virgil's “*debellare superbos.*” *Æn.* vi. 854. DUNSTER.

Ibid. ———— *the stubborn only to subdue.*] In all the editions we read “*the stubborn only to destroy.*” And this being good sense, the mistake is not easily detected: but in the first edition the reader is desired, in the table of Errata, for *destroy* to read *subdue*; and, if we consider it, this is the more proper word, more suitable to the humane and heavenly character of the speaker; and besides it answers to the *subdue and quell* in ver. 218. “*The Son of Man came not to destroy men's lives, &c.*” *Luke* ix. 56. NEWTON.

In Tonson's 12mo. edit. 1747, it is rightly printed, “*the stubborn only to subdue.*”

Ver. 227. ———— *my mother soon perceiving,*

————— *inly rejoic'd,*] Virgil, *Æn.* i. 502.

And said to me apart, " High are thy thoughts,
 " O Son, but nourish them, and let them soar 230
 " To what highth sacred virtue and true worth
 " Can raise them, though above example high ;
 " By matchless deeds express thy matchless Sire,
 " For know, thou art no son of mortal man ;
 " Though men esteem thee low of parentage, 235
 " Thy father is the Eternal King who rules
 " All Heaven and Earth, Angels and sons of men ;
 " A messenger from God foretold thy birth

" Latonæ tacitum pertentant gaudia pectus." JORTIN.

The reader should recollect, that the occasion of the above verse, which is finely descriptive of maternal delight, was the distinguishing personal grace and divine appearance of Diana on the banks of Eurotas, surrounded by her nymphs ; among whom

—————" illa pharetram
 " Fert humero, gradiensque Deas supereminet omnes."

DUNSTER.

Ver. 231, ————— true worth] Hor.
 Od. III. v.

" Nec vera virtus, cum semel excidit,

" Curat reponi deterioribus"—— DUNSTER.

Ver. 233. *By matchless deeds express thy matchless Sire,*] Milton, in one place of his *Par. Lost*, uses the verb *to express*, in the same sense as he has done here. It is one of the speeches of the Deity to Adam after his creation.

" Thus far to try thee, Adam, I was pleas'd,

" And find thee knowing, not in beasts alone

" Which thou hast rightly nam'd, but of thyself,

" Expressing well the spirit within thee free,

" My image, not imparted to the brute."

Matchless Sire may remind us of a line in the same poem, of which this line has also a considerable resemblance, both in the *rythm* and in the *repetition*, B. iv. 41.

" Warring in Heaven against Heaven's matchless king."

" Conceiv'd in me a virgin ; he foretold, 239
 " Thou should'st be great, and sit on David's
 " throne,
 " And of thy kingdom there should be no end.
 " At thy nativity, a glorious quire
 " Of Angels, in the fields of Bethlehem, sung
 " To shepherds, watching at their folds by night,
 " And told them the Messiah now was born, 245
 " Where they might see him, and to thee they
 " came,
 " Directed to the manger where thou lay'st,
 " For in the inn was left no better room :
 " A star, not seen before, in Heaven appearing,
 " Guided the wise men thither from the east, 250
 " To honour thee with incense, myrrh, and gold ;

Ver. 239. ————— *he foretold,*

*Thou should'st be great, and sit on David's throne,
 And of thy kingdom there should be no end.]* See

Luke i. 32, 33. DUNSTER.

Ver. 241. ————— *there should be no end.]* Tickell
 and Fenton, after Tonson, corruptly read " there *shall* be no end."
 Dr. Newton restored the reading of Milton's own edition.

Ver. 242. *At thy nativity, a glorious quire
 Of Angels, in the fields of Bethlehem sung
 To shepherds, watching at their folds by night, &c.]*

Par. Lost, B. xii. 364.

" His place of birth a solemn Angel tells
 " To simple shepherds, keeping watch by night ;
 " They gladly thither haste, and by a quire
 " *Of squadron'd angels hear his carol sung.]* DUNSTER.

Ver. 249. *A star, not seen before, in Heaven appearing,
 Guided the wise men thither from the east,
 To honour thee with incense, myrrh, and gold ;]*

Par. Lost, B. xii. 360.

“ By whose bright course led on they found the
 “ place,
 “ Affirming it thy star, new-graven in Heaven,
 “ By which they knew the King of Israel born.
 “ Just Simeon and prophetick Anna, warn’d 255
 “ By vision, found thee in the temple, and spake,
 “ Before the altar and the vested priest,
 “ Like things of thee to all that present stood.”—
 This having heard, straight I again revolv’d
 The Law and Prophets, searching what was writ
 Concerning the Messiah, to our scribes 261
 Known partly, and soon found, of whom they
 spake
 I am; this chiefly, that my way must lie

————“ yet at his birth a star,
 “ Unseen before in Heaven, proclaims him come,
 “ And guides the Eastern sages, who inquire
 “ His place, to offer incense, myrrh, and gold.”

DUNSTER.

Ver. 255. *Just Simeon and prophetick Anna,*] It may not
 be improper to remark how strictly our author adheres to the
 Scripture history, not only in the particulars which he relates,
 but also in the very epithets which he affixes to the persons; as
 here *Just Simeon*, because it is said, Luke ii. 25. *and the same
 man was just*: and *prophetick Anna*, because it is said, Luke ii. 36.
and there was one Anna a prophetess. The like accuracy may be
 observed in all the rest of this speech. NEWTON.

Ver. 257. ———— *the vested priest,*] Virgil, *Æn.*
 xii. 169. “ *Purâque in veste sacerdos.*” And, in Milton’s
 Sonnet, *On his Deceased Wife*, “ *Came vested all in white,*”

ver. 8. DUNSTER.

Ver. 262. ———— *and soon found, of whom they spake
 I am;*] The Jews thought that the Messiah,
 when he came, would be without all power and distinction, and

Through many a hard assay, even to the death,
 Ere I the promis'd kingdom can attain, 265
 Or work redemption for mankind, whose sins
 Full weight must be transferr'd upon my head.
 Yet, neither thus dishearten'd or dismay'd,
 The time prefix'd I waited ; when behold
 The Baptist, (of whose birth I oft had heard, 270
 Not knew by sight,) now come, who was to
 come
 Before Messiah, and his way prepare !

ἐκκατον ἐπεὶ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ, till Elias had anointed and declared him. Χρῖστος δὲ ἦν καὶ προχρίσται, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι, ἁγίως ὁ ἰσὶ, καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτὸς πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἱερίσται, ἐπὶ ἰχθὺς ὀνομαζόμενος, μέχρις ἂν ἔλθῃ Ἡλίας, χρίσας αὐτὸν, καὶ φανερὸν ποιῶσι ποιῶσιν. Just. Mart. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 266. Ed. Col. CALTON.

Ver. 264. *Through many a hard assay, even to the death,*] See note on *Comus*, v. 972. *Unto the death*, as Mr. Dunster observes, is an expression used in our translation of the Scriptures. See *Acts* xviii. 4. See also *Judges* v. 18, and *Revel.* xii. 11.

It is also an old poetical phrase, being used by Chaucer and Shakspeare; and is supposed by Mr. Tyrwhitt to have been originally a mistaken translation of the French *la mort*.

Ver. 266. ————— *whose sins*
Full weight must be transferr'd upon my head.] *Isaiah* liii. 6. "The Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all."
 NEWTON.

Ver. 271. *Not knew by sight,*] Though Jesus and John the Baptist were related, yet they were brought up in different countries, and had no manner of intimacy or acquaintance with each other. John the Baptist says expressly, *John* i. 31, 33. "And I knew him not." He did not so much as know him by sight, till our Saviour came to his baptism; and afterwards it doth not appear that they ever conversed together. NEWTON.

I, as all others, to his baptism came,
Which I believ'd was from above ; but he
Straight knew me, and with loudest voice pro-
claim'd

275

Me him, (for it was shewn him so from Heaven,)
Me him, whose harbinger he was ; and first
Refus'd on me his baptism to confer,
As much his greater, and was hardly won :
But, as I rose out of the laving stream, 280
Heaven opened her eternal doors, from whence
The Spirit descended on me like a dove ;
And last, the sum of all, my Father's voice,
Audibly heard from Heaven, pronounc'd me his,

Ver. 279. *As much his greater,*] Here Milton uses the word *greater* in the same manner as he had done before, *Paradise Lost*, B. v. 172.

“Thou Sun, of this great world both eye and soul,

“Acknowledge him *thy greater*.”

And this, I think, is a proof that the present reading there is right, and that both Dr. Bentley's emendation and mine ought absolutely to be rejected. THYER.

Ver. 280. ——— *out of the laving stream,*] Alluding to the phrase *laver of regeneration* so frequently applied to baptism. It may be observed in general of this soliloquy of our Saviour, that it is not only excellently well adapted to the present condition of the divine speaker, but also very artfully introduced by the poet, to give us a history of his hero from his birth to the very scene with which the poem is opened.

THYER.

Ver. 281. ——— *eternal doors,*] So in *Psal.* xxiv. 7, 9. *everlasting doors*. And, *Paradise Lost*, B. vii. 205.

——— “Heaven open'd wide

“Her *ever-during gates*,” DUNSTER.

Me his beloved Son, in whom alone 285
 He was well pleas'd; by which I knew the time
 Now full, that I no more should live obscure,
 But openly begin, as best becomes,
 The authority which I deriv'd from Heaven.
 And now by some strong motion I am led 290
 Into this wilderness, to what intent
 I learn not yet; perhaps I need not know,
 For what concerns my knowledge God reveals.

Ver. 286. ————— — *the time*

Now full,] Alluding to the Scripture phrase, *the fulness of time*. Gal. iv. 4. NEWTON.

Ver. 293. *For what concerns my knowledge God reveals.*] This whole soliloquy is formed upon an opinion, which hath authorities enough to give it credit, *that Christ was yet, by nature of the personal union of the two natures, and from the first moment of that union, possessed of all the knowledge of the ΛΟΓΟΣ, as far as the capacity of a human mind would admit.* [See Le Blanc's *Elucidatio Status Controversiarum*, &c. Cap. 3.] In his early year, he *increas'd in wisdom*, and in stature. St. Luke, ii. 52. And Beza observes upon this place, that—"ipsa Οὐρεται plenitudo sese, prout & quatenus ipsi libuit, humanitati assumta infusa vit: quicquid garriant matæologi, & novi Ubiquitarii Euty-chiani." Grotius employs the same principle, to explain St. Mark, xiii. 32.—"Videtur mihi, ni meliora docear, hic locus non impie posse exponi hunc in modum, ut dicamus *deum* sapientiam menti humane Christi effectus suos imprecabile *pro temporum ratione*. Nam quid aliud est, si verba non torquamus, *αὐτὸς ὢν σοφός*, Luc. ii. 52?" And our Tillotson approved the opinion.—
 "It is not unreasonable to suppose, that the *Divine Wisdom*, which dwelt in our Saviour, did communicate itself to his *human soul* according to his pleasure, and so his *human Nature* might at some time not know some things. And if this be not admitted, how can we understand that passage concerning our Saviour, Luke, ii. 52. that *Jesus grew in wisdom and stature?*" CALTON.

So spake our Morning-Star, then in his rise,
 And, looking round, on every side beheld 295
 A pathless desert, dusk with horrid shades;
 The way he came not having mark'd, return
 Was difficult, by human steps untrod;
 And he still on was led, but with such thoughts
 Accompanied of things past and to come 300

Ver. 294. *So spake our Morning-Star,*] So our Saviour is called, in the *Revelation*, xxii. 16, *the bright and morning star.*

NEWTON.

And thus Spenfer, in his *Hymn of Heavenly Love.*

“ O blessed well of love! O flowre of grace!

“ O glorious *Morning-star!* O lamp of light!

“ Most lively image of thy Father’s face,

“ Eternal King of glory, &c.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 295. ————— *on every side beheld*

A pathless desert, dusk with horrid shades;] Thus

Virgil describes the wood in which Euryalus is taken, in his ninth *Æneid*, 381.

“ Sylva fuit, late dumis etque illic nigra

“ *Horrida*, quam densi complerant undique fentes:

“ *Rara per occultos lucebat semita calles.*”

But *dusk with horrid shades* is more immediately from *Æn.* i. 165.

“ *Horrentique atram nemus imminet umbra.*” DUNSTER.

Probably not without a reference also to Tasso. See my note on *Comus*, v. 428.

Ver. 298. ————— *by human steps untrod;*] Silius

Italicus describes the Alps, xvii. 502.

————— “ *Negatas*

“ *Gressibus humanis Alpes* ———” DUNSTER.

Ver. 299. *And he still on was led, but with such thoughts*
Accompanied of things past and to come

Lodg'd in his breast, as well might recommend
 Such solitude before choicest society.
 Full forty days he pass'd, whether on hill
 Sometimes, anon on shady vale, each night
 Under the covert of some ancient oak 305
 Or cedar to defend him from the dew,
 Or harbour'd in one cave, is not reveal'd;
 Nor tasted human food, nor hunger felt
 Till those days ended; hunger'd then at last 309
 Among wild beasts: they at his sight grew mild,

[*Lodg'd in his breast as well might recommend
 Such solitude before choicest society.*] The Poet here
 resumes and continues the description he had given of our blessed
 Lord, previous to his Soliloquy, or his first entering the desert,
 v. 189. DUNSTER.

Ver. 303. *Full forty days he pass'd, whether on hill
 Sometimes, anon on shady vale, &c.*] Here the
 Poet of *Paradise Lost* breaks out in his meridian splendour. There
 is something particularly picturesque in this description.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 306. ————— *Or lodg'd him from the dew.*] That
 the dews of that country were very considerable, may be col-
 lected from several parts of Scripture. The dews of mount Her-
 mon are particularly noticed in the 133d Psalm, as producing
 the most benign effects. Maundrell, in his *Travels*, when
 within little more than half a day's journey of this mountain,
 says, "we were sufficiently instructed by experience what the
 Holy Psalmist means by the *dew of Hermon*, our tents being as
 wet with it, as if it had rained all night." DUNSTER.

Ver. 307. *Or harb'or'd in one cave.*] Dr. Jortin wishes to
 read *some caves*.—Caves are very frequently spoken of in Scrip-
 ture, as places of retreat for protection or shelter. DUNSTER.

Ver. 310. *Among wild beasts: they at his sight grew mild.*] St. Mark's short account of THE TEMPTATION is, that our

Nor sleeping him nor waking harm'd; his walk
 The fiery serpent fled and noxious worm,
 The lion and fierce tiger glar'd aloof.

bleſſed Lord “*was in the wilderness forty days tempted of Satan, and was with the wild beasts, and the angels ministered unto him,*”

1. 13.

Abp. Secker, in his Sermon on the Temptation ſays, “During theſe forty days it is obſerved by St. Mark, that our bleſſed Redeemer *was with the wild beasts*, which words muſt imply, elſe they are of no ſignificance, that the fierceſt animals were awed by his preſence, and ſo far laid aſide their ſavage nature for a time; thus verifying literally, what Eliphaz in Job ſaith figuratively, concerning a good man; “*At deſtruction and famine ſhalt thou laugh, neither ſhalt thou be afraid of the beaſts of the earth, for they ſhall be at peace with thee.*”

Before the Fall, Milton ſuppoſes thoſe beaſts, which are now wild, to have been harmleſs, void of ferocity to each other, and even affectionate towards man. See *Par. Loſt*, B. iv. 340, &c. Immediately after the Fall, among other changes of nature, the animals begin to grow ſavage. See *Par. Loſt*, B. x. 707.

Here, upon the appearance of perfect innocence in a human form amongſt them, they begin to reſume a certain proportion of their Paradifical diſpoſition.

In Homer's *Hymn to Venus*, where that Goddeſs deſcends on Mount Ida, to viſit Anchifeſ at his folds, her appearance is deſcribed as having the ſame effect, in its full eſt extent, ver. 68, &c.

Giles Fletcher, in his *Chriſt's Triumph on Earth*, 1610; has given a ſimilar but more diſuſe deſcription of the effect of our Lord's preſence on the wild beaſts in the wilderneſs. DUNSTER.

Ver. 312. ——— *noxious worm,*] *Serpent*, as in *Par. Loſt*, B. ix. 1608; where ſee the note.

Ver. 313. *The lion and fierce tiger glar'd aloof.*] So, in *Par. Loſt*, B. iv. 401.

————— “about them round

“*A lion now he ſalks with fiery glare;*

“*Then as a tiger ———*”

But now an aged man in rural weeds, 314
Following, as seem'd, the quest of some stray ewe,

Again, B. x. 712, it is said that, after the fall, the wild beasts, ceasing to graze,

“ Devour'd each other, nor stood much in awe

“ Of man, but fled him, or with countenance grim

“ Glar'd on him passing ——”

The latter part of which description is palpably taken from Shakspeare, *Jul. Cæs.* A. i. S. iv.

————— “ I met a lion

“ Who glar'd upon me, and went furly by,

“ Without annoying me ——” DUNSTER.

Ver. 314. *But now an aged man*] As the Scripture is entirely silent about what personage the Tempter assumed, the Poet was at liberty to indulge his own fancy; and nothing, I think, could be better conceived for his present purpose, or more likely to prevent suspicion of fraud. The poet might perhaps take the hint from a design of David Vinkboon, where the Devil is represented addressing himself to our Saviour, under the appearance of an old man. It is to be met with among Vischer's cuts to the Bible, and is engraved by Landerfelt. THYER.

Ibid. ———— *an aged man in rural weeds,*] Thus, in the first Book of the *Fairy Queen*, Una and the Red-crofs Knight are met by the Enchanter Archimago, disguised under the appearance of an old Hermit, i. i. 29.

“ At length they chanc'd to meet upon their way

“ An aged man in long black weeds yclad.”

And, in *Comus*, v. 84, the *Spirit* says, he must put off his celestial habiliments,

“ And take the weeds and likeness of a swain.”

The weeds of a swain are “ rural weeds;” and thus Satan, under this disguise, in ver. 337 of this Book, is called *the swain*.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 315. *Following, as seem'd, the quest of some stray ewe,*] *Comus*, v. 502.

Or wither'd sticks to gather, which might serve
 Against a winter's day, when winds blow keen,
 To warm him wet return'd from field at eve,
 He saw approach, who first with curious eye 319
 Perus'd him, then with words thus utter'd spake.

Sir, what ill chance hath brought thee to this
 place

So far from path or road of men, who pass
 In troop or caravan? for single none

"I came not here on such a trivial toy

"As a *stray'd ewe*." DUNSTER.

Ver. 317. ———— *when winds blow keen,*] So, in
Par. Lost, B. x. 1065.

————— "while *the winds*

"*Blow moist and keen*." DUNSTER.

Ver. 319. ———— *with curious eye*

Perus'd him,] Thus in *Hamlet*, Ophelia, describing
 the behaviour of Hamlet to her, says,

"He falls to such *perusal of my face*,

"As he would draw it ———"

And, in the last Scene of *Romeo and Juliet*, Romeo, when he has
 killed Paris, says

————— "Let me *peruse this face*!

"Mercutio's kinsman! noble County Paris!"

And in the *Paradise Lost*, B. viii, where Adam relates to Raphael
 his own sensations, immediately after his creation, having with
 infinite beauty described the scene that surrounded him, and first
 attracted and gratified his attention, he thus proceeds to speak of
 his survey of himself:

"Myself I then *perus'd*, and limb by limb

"Survey'd." DUNSTER.

Ver. 323. *In troop or caravan?*] A caravan, as Tavernier
 says, is a great convoy of merchants, who meet at certain times

Durst ever, who return'd, and dropt not here
 His carcass, pin'd with hunger and with drouth.
 I ask the rather, and the more admire, 326
 For that to me thou seem'st the Man, whom late
 Our new baptizing Prophet at the ford
 Of Jordan honour'd so, and call'd thee Son
 Of God : I saw and heard, for we sometimes 330
 Who dwell this wild, constrain'd by want, come
 forth
 To town or village nigh, (nighest is far,)

and places, to put themselves into a condition of defence from thieves, who ride in troops in several desert places upon the road. Hence the safest way of travelling in Turkey and Persia is with the caravan. See *Travels into Persia*, in Harris, vol. ii. ch. 2.

NEWTON.

Ibid. ————— for single none

Durst ever, who return'd, and dropt not here

His carcass, pin'd with hunger and with drouth,] MIL-

ton seems here to have had in his mind the vast sandy deserts of Africa ; which Diodorus Siculus describes as a—"desert, full of wild beasts, of a vast extent, and from its being devoid of water, and bare of all kind of food, not only difficult, but absolutely dangerous to pass over." DUNSTER.

Ver. 325. ————— pin'd with hunger] Death, in the tenth Book of the *Paradise Lost*, thus describes himself,

—— "me, who dwell eternal famine pine." DUNSTER.

Ver. 330. ————— I saw and heard, for we sometimes

*Who dwell this wild, constrain'd by want, come forth
 To town or village nigh,]* All this is finely in cha-

rafter with the assumed person of the Tempter, and tends at the same time to give more effect to the preceding descriptions. It should be considered also that it was not necessary to confine those descriptions merely to that part of the wilderness of Judea, into which our Lord was now just entering, v. 193, or where at most

Where aught we hear, and curious are to hear
What happens new ; fame also finds us out.

To whom the Son of God. Who brought me
hither, 335
Will bring me hence ; no other guide I seek.

By miracle he may, replied the swain ;
What other way I see not ; for we here
Live on tough roots and stubs, to thirst inur'd
More than the camel, and to drink go far, 340

he had not advanced any great way, v. 299.—That wilderness was of a great length, the most habitable part being northward towards the river Jordan ; southward it extended into vast and uninhabited deserts, which, in the map in Reland's *Palæstina*, are termed *vastissimæ solitudines*. To describe these, in such a manner as might impress a deep sense of danger in the mind of him to whom he addressed himself, was perfectly consistent with the Tempter's purpose. DUNSTER.

Ver. 338. ————— for we here

Live on tough roots and stubs,] This must certainly be a mistake of the printer, and instead of *stubs* it ought to be read *shrubs*. It is no uncommon thing to read of hermits and ascetics living in deserts upon roots and shrubs, but I never heard of *stubs* being used for food, nor indeed is it reconcileable to common sense. Some have thought that the *ακρίδες*, which the Scripture says were the meat of the Baptist, were the tops of plants or shrubs. THYER.

Yet, in the *Tempest*, Prospero threatens Ferdinand with nearly as hard fare, A. i. S. iii.

————— “ thy food shall be
“ The fresh brook mussels, *witherd roots, and husks*
“ *Wherein the acorn cradled —*”

Stubs are in fact only broken ends of the larger *withered roots*.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 339. ————— to thirst inur'd
More than the camel,] It is commonly said that

Men to much misery and hardship born :
 But, if thou be the Son of God, command
 That out of these hard stones be made thee bread,
 So shalt thou save thyself, and us relieve
 With food, whereof we wretched seldom taste. 345

He ended, and the Son of God replied.
 Think'st thou such force in bread? Is it not
 written,

(For I discern thee other than thou seem'st,)
 Man lives not by bread only, but each word
 Proceeding from the mouth of God, who fed 350
 Our fathers here with manna? In the mount

camels will go without water three or four days. "Sitim & quatrduo tolerant." Plin. *Nat. Hist.* lib. viii. sect. 26. But Tavernier says, that they will ordinarily live without drink eight or nine days. NEWTON.

Ver. 348. (*For I discern thee other than thou seem'st,*)] In the concluding Book of this Poem, our Lord says to the Tempter,

——— "desist, *thou art discern'd*
 "And toil'st in vain." DUNSTER.

Ver. 349. *Man lives not by bread only, but each word*
Proceeding from the mouth of God, who fed

Our fathers here with manna?] The words of St. Matthew, iv. 14, which refer to the eighth chapter of *Deuteronomy*, ver. 3, where the humiliation of the Israelites in the wilderness, and their being there miraculously fed with manna, are recited as arguments for their obedience, "*and he humbled thee, and suffered thee to hunger, and fed thee with manna, which thou knewest not, neither did thy fathers know; that he might make thee know that man doth not live by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord doth man live.*"

The Poet, who was, beyond a doubt, "mighty in the scripture," has, with much art, availed himself of the original passage in the Old Testament, as it affords him such an immediate

Moses was forty days, nor eat, nor drank ;
 And forty days Elijah, without food,
 Wander'd this barren waste ; the same I now :
 Why dost thou then suggest to me distrust, 355
 Knowing who I am, as I know who thou art ?
 Whom thus answer'd the Arch-Fiend, now
 undisguis'd.
 'Tis true I am that Spirit unfortunate,

and apposite transition to the miraculous feeding the Children of Israel, their great lawgiver, and afterwards Elijah, in the wilderness. DUNSTER.

Ver. 356. *Knowing who I am,*] This is not to be understood of Christ's *divine* nature. The Tempter knew him to be the person *declared the Son of God* by a voice from Heaven, v. 385, and that was all that he knew of him. CALTON.

Ver. 358. *'Tis true I am that Spirit unfortunate,*] Satan's instantaneous avowal of himself here has a great and fine effect. It is consistent with a certain dignity of character which is given him in general, through the whole of the *Paradise Lost*.—The rest of his speech is artfully submissive.

It may not be improper in this place, to consider the conduct of the Poet, and the reason of it, respecting the Arch-Fiend's appearance and demeanour here, and, in a part of the *Paradise Lost*, where his situation may be considered as in some degree similar.—In the fourth Book of the *Paradise Lost*, Satan is represented fitting, in an assumed shape, “ close at the ear of Eve ;” in order to inspire such dreams and ideas as might render her a more apt subject of temptation. Being discovered in this situation, on the touch of Ithuriel's spear, he resumes his own proper form ; and, on being questioned by the Angels concerning the purpose of his being there, he answers in scornful and indignant terms.—In the instance before us, Satan is also in an assumed shape, under which he is immediately known to our blessed Lord ; whose power to discover him, through that dis-

Who, leagu'd with millions more in rash revolt,

guise, he does not seem to have been at all aware of, until his declaration,

“ Knowing who I am, as *I know who thou art.*”

Satan, on finding himself discovered, makes here no vaunt of his power or rank, as he had done in the other instance ; but, having acknowledged who he is, returns only apologies and flattery to the “ stern” rebukes of our Saviour, notwithstanding that he was at the same time

———— “ inly stung with anger and disdain.”

The conduct of our author, on both these occasions, is highly proper and admirable. Satan, when discovered by Ithuriel and Zephon, and by them conducted to Gabriel, finds himself in the presence of those, who had formerly been his peers or inferiours, when in his state of happiness and splendour ; and, on their attempting to restrain him, breaks forth, as might be expected from his haughty and violent character, into sentiments of indignation and rage, and prepares for the most determined resistance ; from which however he is deterred by a sign from above, which he knew to proceed immediately from the hand of God. On the present occasion, “ awe from above had quell'd his heart.” He was aware of the superiority of the Son of God, and, as the Scripture says of him, *he believes and trembles* ;

“ But thou art plac'd above me, thou art Lord,

“ From thee I can, and must, submit, endure

“ Check, or reproof ; and glad to escape so quit.”

Milton's different representations of the conduct of Satan, in these two different exigencies, may be considered as meant to elucidate and exalt the character of our Lord, whom the Almighty had before directed all the Angels of Heaven to adore and honour as himself, *Par. Lost*, B. iii. 343. Neither are his glory and honour confined to the celestial mansions ; but even the infernal spirits are involuntarily led to pay him the same homage.—We may observe, as a further circumstance of the marked superiority of our Lord's character over that of the blessed

Kept not my happy station, but was driven 360
 With them from blifs to the bottomlefs deep,
 Yet to that hideous place not fo confin'd
 By rigour unconniving, but that oft,

Angels, that Ithuriel and Zephon, on Satan's refuming his own proper fhape, knew him not, until he informed them who he was; and that Gabriel himfelf, at Satan's firft appearance before him, fays only that he

————— “ by his gait,

“ And fierce demeanour, *feems* the Prince of Hell.”

But our Lord here is acquainted with all the wiles and intentions of his adverfary, and knows him under all his difguife, and at his firft approach.—The firft entrance of Satan into Paradife, we may alfo recollect, was under difguife; in which he deceived Uriel, who was held to be

“ The fharpeft-fighted Spirit of all in Heaven.”

But, as he fays,

————— “ neither man nor angel can difcern

“ Hypocrify, the only evil that walks

“ Invfible, except to God alone.”

This difcovery of Satan then may be confidered as an intended proof of our Lord's divine charafter, in his difcerning what was invifible, except *to God alone*; and the fubmifs and crouching behaviour of the Arch-Fiend, fo different from what it was upon all other occafions, amounts to a further attestation of it.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 360. *Kept not my happy ftation,*] See *Par. Loft*, B. vii. 145, and the note there.

Ver. 362. ——— *that hideous place*] The Devils, immediately after their expulfion from Heaven, in the firft Book of *Paradife Loft*, are defcribed “ abjeft and loft,”

“ Under amazement of their *hideous change*.”

DUNSTER.

Leaving my dolorous prison, I enjoy
 Large liberty to round this globe of earth, 365
 Or range in the air ; nor from the Heaven of
 Heavens

Hath he excluded my resort sometimes.
 I came among the sons of God, when he
 Gave up into my hands Uzzean Job
 To prove him and illustrate his high worth ; 370
 And, when to all his Angels he propos'd

Ver. 364. ——— *my dolorous prison,*] *Par. Lost*, B. ii. 618.

—— “ through many a dark and dreary vale

“ They pass'd, and many a region *dolorous*,

“ O'er many a frozen, many a fiery Alp.” DUNSTER.

Again, in his *Hymn on the Nativity*, st. xiv.

“ And *Hell* itself will pass away,

“ And leave her *dolorous* mansions to the peering day.”

Although the adjective *dolorous* be common in our old poetry, Milton, I am inclined to think, did not forget Dante's usage of it, in the *Inferno*, where Satan is called, c. xxxiv.

“ Lo 'mperador del *doloroso* regno.”

Ver. 365. ——— *to round this globe of earth,*] Milton uses the same phrase in his *Paradise Lost*, B. x. 684. speaking of the sun :

“ Had *rounded* fill the horizon.” THYER.

Ver. 366. ——— *the Heaven of Heavens*] Milton frequently uses this expression of “ the Heaven of Heavens.” See *Paradise Lost*, B. iii. 390, B. vii. 13, and 553, B. xii. 451.

Solomon, in his prayer at the dedication of the Temple, says,
 “ But will God indeed dwell on the earth? Behold the Heaven,
 and *Heaven of Heavens* cannot contain thee, &c.” 1 *Kings* viii. 27.

DUNSTER.

To draw the proud king Ahab into fraud
 That he might fall in Ramoth, they demurring,
 I undertook that office, and the tongues
 Of all his flattering prophets glibb'd with lies 375
 To his destruction, as I had in charge;
 For what he bids I do. Though I have lost
 Much lustre of my native brightness, lost

Ver. 372. *To draw the proud king Ahab into fraud*] This story of Ahab is related, *I Kings*, xxii. 19, &c. "*I saw the Lord sitting on his throne, and all the host of Heaven standing by him, on his right hand and on his left. And the Lord said, Who shall persuade Ahab, that he may go up and fall at Ramoth-gilead? And one said on this manner, and another on that manner. And there came forth a Spirit, and stood before the Lord, and said, I will persuade him. And the Lord said unto him, Wherewith? And he said, I will go forth, and I will be a lying Spirit in the mouth of all his prophets. And he said, Thou shalt persuade him, and prevail also: go forth, and do so.*" This symbolical vision of Micaiah, in which heavenly things are spoken of after the manner of men in condescension to the weakness of their capacities, our author was too good a critic to understand literally, though as a poet he represents it so. NEWTON.

Ibid. ————— *into fraud*] See note on *Par. Lost*, B. ix. 643.

Ver. 377. ————— *though I have lost
 Much lustre of my native brightness,*] It is said
 of Satan, in the first Book of the *Paradise Lost*, v. 591.

—————"his form had yet not lost
 "All her original brightness."

And when Ithuriel and Zephon, in the end of the fourth Book, find him in Paradise, and charge him with being one of the rebel Spirits adjudged to Hell, Satan asks, *if they do not know him?* To which Zephon replies,

"Think not, revolted Spirit, thy shape the same,
 "Or undiminish'd brightness to be known,

To be belov'd of God, I have not lost
 To love, at least contemplate and admire, 380
 What I see excellent in good, or fair,
 Or virtuous ; I should so have lost all sense :
 What can be then less in me than desire
 To see thee and approach thee, whom I know
 Declar'd the Son of God, to hear attent 385
 Thy wisdom, and behold thy God-like deeds ?

“ As when thou stood'st in Heaven upright and pure ;
 “ That glory then, when thou no more wast good,
 “ Departed from thee ;——”

And in *Par. Lost*, B. i. 97. Satan describes himself “ chang'd in outward lustre.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 379. ————— *I have not lost*

To love, at least contemplate and admire,

What I see excellent in good, or fair,

Or virtuous ;] After the rebuke of Zephon to

Satan, part of which is cited in the preceding note, it is said,

————— “ abash'd the Devil stood,

“ And felt how awful goodness is, and saw

“ Virtue in her shape how lovely ; saw, and pin'd

“ His loss.”

Thus also, in the second Book of the *Paradise Lost*, where the fallen Angels are described doing homage to the Public Spirit of their Chief, it is said,

————— “ for neither do the Spirits damn'd

“ *Lose all their virtue.*”

And, where Satan first sees Adam and Eve in Paradise, he “ contemplates them with admiration.” See *Par. Lost*, B. iv. 362, &c.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 385. ————— *to hear attent*

Thy wisdom,] Milton seems to have borrowed

this word *attent*, and this emphatical manner of applying it, from Spenser, *Faery Queen*, vi. ix. 26.

Men generally think me much a foe
 To all mankind: why should I? they to me
 Never did wrong or violence; by them
 I lost not what I lost, rather by them 390
 I gain'd what I have gain'd, and with them
 dwell,
 Copartner in these regions of the world,
 If not dispoſer; lend them oft my aid,
 Oft my advice by preſages and ſigns,
 And answers, oracles, portents and dreams, 395
 Whereby they may direct their future life.

“ Whilt thus he talk'd, the knight with greedy ear

“ Hung ſtill upon his melting mouth *attent*.” THYER.

Shakſpeare alſo, *Hamlet*, A. i. S. ii.

“ Seafon your admiration for a while

“ With an *attent ear*.” DUNSTER.

Milton's expreſſion, *hear attent*, occurs in the ancient verſion of the Pſalms, attributed to Archbiſhop Parker, bl. l. 4to. p. 382.

“ O Lord, aſſent; O *heare attent*

“ My wofull voyce.”

Ver. 393. ————— *lend them oft my aid,*

Oft my advice by preſages and ſigns,

And answers, oracles, portents and dreams,

Whereby they may direct their future life.] The

following paſſage of Cicero reflects ſo much light on theſe lines, as would incline one to believe that Milton had it in his mind.

“ Multa cernunt haruſpices; multa augures provident; multa oraculis declarantur, multa vaticinationibus, multa ſomnus, multa portentis: quibus cognitis, multæ ſape res hominum ſententia atque utilitate partæ,” (or, as Lambinus reads, ex animi ſententia atque utilitate partæ) “ multa etiam pericula depulſa ſunt.”

De Nat. Deor. ii. 65. NEWTON.

Envy they say excites me, thus to gain
 Companions of my misery and woe.
 At first it may be ; but, long since with woe
 Nearer acquainted, now I feel, by proof, 400
 That fellowship in pain divides not smart,
 Nor lightens aught each man's peculiar load.
 Small consolation then, were man adjoin'd :
 This wounds me most, (what can it less ?) that
 Man,
 Man fall'n shall be restor'd, I never more. 405

Ver. 397. *Envy they say excites me, thus to gain*

Companions of my misery and woe.] "They say"

is not here merely expletory, or only of *general* reference. It relates to what Raphael in express terms *had said* in the conclusion of the sixth Book of the *Paradise Lost*, where he warns Adam of Satan's purposes against him and the motives of them, ver. 900—907. DUNSTER.

Ver. 400. *Nearer acquainted,*] It is "*Never acquainted*" in Milton's own edition ; but, in the table of Errata, is corrected "*Nearer acquainted.*" Several editions retain the error. Fenton, however, has rectified it, in his edition of 1730.

Ibid. ———— *now I feel, by proof,*

That fellowship in pain divides not smart,] Our author had in his eye this line of the poet,

"Solamen miseris socios habuisse doloris." THYER.

Ver. 404. *This wounds me most, (what can it less ?) that man, Man fall'n shall be restor'd, I never more.*] Very artful. As he could not acquit himself of envy and mischief, he endeavours to soften his crimes, by assigning this cause of them.

WARBURTON.

The Poet very judiciously makes the Tempter conclude with these lines concerning the restoration of fallen man, in order to lead our Saviour to say something about the manner of it, to know which was one great part of his design, that he might be

To whom our Saviour sternly thus replied.
 Deservedly thou griev'st, compos'd of lies
 From the beginning, and in lies wilt end ;
 Who boast'st release from Hell, and leave to come
 Into the Heaven of Heavens : Thou com'st indeed,
 As a poor miserable captive thrall 411
 Comes to the place where he before had sat
 Among the prime in splendour, now depos'd,
 Ejected, emptied, gaz'd, unpitied, shunn'd,
 A spectacle of ruin, or of scorn, 415
 To all the host of Heaven : The happy place
 Imparts to thee no happiness, no joy,
 Rather inflames thy torment ; representing
 Lost bliss, to thee no more communicable,

able, if possible, to counterplot and prevent it. With no less judgement is our Saviour represented in the following answer, taking no other notice of it than by replying, *Deservedly thou griev'st*, &c. THYER.

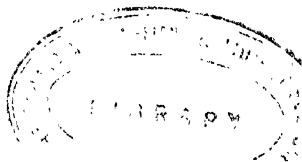
Ver. 411. *As a poor miserable captive thrall*] *Thrall* is an old word for slave ; frequently used by Spenser.

————— “ ne did he cease,
 “ Till that he came where he had Cambell seen,
 “ Like captive thrall, two other knights atween.”
Faery Queen, iv. iv. 34.

Milton, in the *Paradise Lost*, has also

————— “ *thralls*
 “ By right of war.”——B. i. 149. DUNSTER.

Ver. 416. ————— *the happy place*
Imparts to thee no happiness, no joy,
Rather inflames thy torment, representing
Lost bliss, to thee no more communicable,] We find
 the same sentiment also, in *Paradise Lost*, B. ix. 467.



So never more in Hell than when in Heaven. 420
 But thou art serviceable to Heaven's King.
 Wilt thou impute to obedience what thy fear
 Extorts, or pleasure to do ill excites?
 What but thy malice mov'd thee to misdeem
 Of righteous Job, then cruelly to afflict him 425
 With all inflictions? but his patience won.
 The other service was thy chosen task,
 To be a liar in four hundred mouths;
 For lying is thy sustenance, thy food.
 Yet thou pretend'st to truth; all oracles 430
 By thee are given, and what confess'd more true

" But the hot Hell that always in him burns,
 " Though in mid Heaven, soon ended his delight,
 " And tortures him now more, the more he sees
 " Of pleasure, not for him ordain'd." THYER.

Ver. 417. *Imparts to thee*] In all the editions, till that of Tonson's 1747, it is "*Imports to thee*:" although the error is desired to be corrected in Milton's table of Errata.

Ver. 423. ——— *or pleasure to do ill excites?*] Satan, in *Par. Lost*, B. i. 159, in his first conference with his infernal compeer, says

" To do aught good never will be our task;
 " But ever *to do ill our sole delight*." DUNSTER.

Ver. 426. ——— *but his patience won.*] The verb *won* I think is not often used as a verb neuter, but I find it so in Spenser's *Faery Queen*, i. vi. 39.

" And he the stoutest knight that ever *won*."

NEWTON.

Ver. 428. ——— *in four hundred mouths;*] " Then the king of Israel gathered the prophets together, *about four hundred men*." I Kings, xxii. 6. DUNSTER.

Among the nations? that hath been thy craft,
 By mixing somewhat true to vent more lies.
 But what have been thy answers, what but dark,
 Ambiguous, and with double sense deluding, 435
 Which they who ask'd have seldom understood,

Ver. 432. ————— *that hath been thy craft,*

By mixing somewhat true to vent more lies.] The following passage from St. Austin may serve to illustrate what Milton here says, "Miscent tamen isti [Dæmones] fallacias; et verum quod nōsse potuerint, non docendi magis quam decipiendi fine, prænuntiant." *De Div. Dæmon.* Sect. 12. THYER.

Ver. 434. *But what have been thy answers, what but dark, Ambiguous, and with double sense deluding,*

The oracles were often so obscure and dubious, that there was need of other oracles to explain them. "Sed jam ad te venio,

"Sancte Apollo, qui umbilicum certum terrarum obsides,

"Unde superstisiosa primum sæva evasit vox fera."

"Tuis enim oraculis Chrysippus totum volumen implevit, partim falsis, ut ego opinor, partim casu veris, ut sit in omni oratione sæpissime; partim *flexiliquis*, et *obscuris*, ut *interpret* egeat *interprete*, et *sors ipsa ad sortes referenda sit*; partim *ambiguus*, et *quæ ad dialecticum deferenda sint*." Cicero *De Div.* ii. 56.

CALTON.

Milton, in these lines about the Heathen oracles, seems to have had in view what Eusebius says more copiously upon this subject in the fifth Book of his *Præparatio Evangelica*. That learned father reasons in the very same way about them, and gives many instances from history of their delusive and double meanings.

THYER.

Probably Milton had here in mind the exclamation also of Macbeth, when he finds that the weird sisters had shuffed him with ambiguous expressions, *Macbeth*, A. and S. ult.

"And be these juggling fiends no more believ'd,

"That *palter with us in a double sense*."

And not well understood as good not known?
 Who ever by consulting at thy shrine
 Return'd the wiser, or the more instruct,
 To fly or follow what concern'd him most, 440
 And run not sooner to his fatal snare?
 For God hath justly given the nations up
 To thy delusions; justly, since they fell
 Idolatrous: but, when his purpose is
 Among them to declare his providence 445
 To thee not known, whence hast thou then thy
 truth,
 But from him, or his Angels president
 In every province, who, themselves disdaining

Ver. 439. ————— *instruct*,] Thus, B. ii. ver. 399, he writes *suspect* for *suspected*. In the *Paradise Lost* he always writes the participles at length; but in this Poem he has in every respect condensed his style, which may be one reason why it does not please the million." DUNSTER.

But he abbreviates the participle also in *Par. Lost*; as he writes *unsuspect* for *unsuspected*, B. ix. 771. And, in his Translation of the 6th *Psalms*, he writes *deject* for *dejected*. He was preceded by Shakspeare, *Hamlet*, A. iii. S. i.

"And I of ladies most *d.j.ct*, and wretched."

Ver. 447. *But from him, or his angels president*

In every province,] "Utitur etiam eis Deus (Dæmonibus) ad veritatis manifestationem per ipsos fiendam, dum divina mysteria eis per Angelos revelantur." The words are quoted from Aquinas (2da 2dæ *Quæst.* 172. Art. 6.) CALTON.

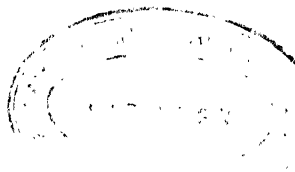
This notion Milton very probably had from Tertullian and St. Austin. Tertullian, speaking of the Gods of the Heathens and their oracles, says—"Dispositiones etiam Dei & tunc prophetis concionantibus exceperunt, & nunc lectionibus resonantibus carpunt. Ita & hinc fumentes quasdam temporum sortes æmulantur

To approach thy temples, give thee in command
 What, to the smalleſt tittle, thou ſhalt ſay 450
 To thy adorers? Thou, with trembling fear,
 Or like a fawning paraſite, obey'ſt:
 Then to thyſelf aſcrib'ſt the truth foretold.

divinitatem, dum furantur divinationem. In oraculis autem, quo ingenio ambiguitates temperent in eventus, ſcient Cræſi, ſciunt Pyrrhi." *Apol. C. 22.* St. Auſtin, more appoſitely to our preſent purpoſe, anſwering the Heathen boasts of their oracles, ſays—"tamen nec iſta ipſa, quæ ab eis vix raro & clanculo proferuntur, movere nos debent, ſi cuiquam Dæmonum extortum eſt id prodere cultoribus ſuis quod didicerat ex eloquiis prophetarum, vel ex oraculis Angelorum." *Aug. De Div. Dæmonum. ſect. 12. tom. 6. ed. Bened.* And again, "Cum enim vult Deus etiam per infimos infernoſque ſpiritus aliquem vera cognoscere, temporalia dumtaxat atque ad iſtam mortalitatem pertinentia, facile eſt, & non incongruum, ut omnipotens & juſtus ad eorum pœnam, quibus iſta prædicuntur, ut malum quod eis impendit ante quam veniat prænoſcendo patiantur, occulto apparatu miniſteriorum ſuorum etiam ſpiritibus talibus aliquid divinationis impertiatur, ut quod audiunt ab Angelis, prænuntient hominibus." *De Div. Quæſt. ad Simpl. L. 2. S. 3. Tom. 6. THER.*

Milton has here followed the Septuagint reading in *Deuteronomy*.
 "Ὅτε διειρήζειν ὁ ὕψις ἐθνη—ἔστησεν ὕψια ἐθνῶν κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἀσγέλων θεῶν."
 WARBURTON.

Vcr. 453. *Then to thyſelf aſcrib'ſt the truth foretold.*] The Demons, Lactantius ſays, could certainly foreſee, and truly foretel, many future events, from the knowledge they had of the diſpoſitions of providence before their fall. And then they aſſumed all the honour to themſelves, pretending to be the authors and doers of what they predicted. "Nam cum diſpoſitiones Dei præſentiant, quippe qui miniſtri ejus fuerunt, interponunt ſe in his rebus; ut quæcunque à Deo vel facta ſunt vel ſiunt ipſi poſſiſſimum facere, aut ſeciſſe videantur." *Div. Inſt. ii. 16. CALTON.*



But this thy glory shall be soon retrench'd;
 No more shalt thou by oracling abuse 455
 The Gentiles; henceforth oracles are ceas'd,
 And thou no more with pomp and sacrifice
 Shalt be inquir'd at Delphos, or elsewhere;
 At least in vain, for they shall find thee mute.

Ver. 456. ——— *Henceforth oracles are ceas'd,
 And thou no more with pomp and sacrifice
 Shalt be inquir'd at Delphos, or elsewhere;
 At least in vain, for they shall find thee mute.*] As

Milton had before adopted the ancient opinion of oracles being the operations of the fallen Angels, so here again he follows the same authority, in making them cease at the coming of our Saviour. See this matter fully discussed in Fontenelle's History of Oracles, and Father Baltus's answer to him. THEY ER.

Thus Juvenal, *Sat.* vi. 554;

——— "*Delphis oracula cessant.*"

And in the fifth Book of Lucan's *Pharsalia*, where Appius is desirous to consult the Delphick oracle, but finds it dumb, the priestess tells him,

——— "*Muta Parnassus Ectæ
 Conticuit, presitque Deum, seu spiritus istas
 Destituit fauces, mundique in devia versum
 Duxit iter.*"

——— "*seu sponte Deorum
 Cyrrha filæ.*"

Thus also Milton, in his *Hymn on the Nativity*;

"The oracles are dumb, &c."

And before him, Giles Fletcher, in his *Cherub's Legacy* or *Hæren*, ft. 82.

"The Angels caroll'd loud their song of peace,
 "The cursed oracles were stricken dumb." DUNSTER.

God hath now sent his living oracle 460
 Into the world to teach his final will,
 And sends his Spirit of truth henceforth to dwell
 In pious hearts, an inward oracle
 To all truth requisite for men to know.

So spake our Saviour; but the subtle Fiend, 465
 Though inly stung with anger and disdain,
 Dissembled, and this answer smooth return'd.
 Sharply thou hast insisted on rebuke,
 And urg'd me hard with doings, which not will
 But misery hath wrested from me. Where 470
 Easily canst thou find one miserable,
 And not enforc'd oft-times to part from truth,

Ver. 460. ————— *his living oracle*] Christ is styled by the Greek Fathers *αὐτοζών, ζῶσα βουλή, λόγος ζών, essential life, the living counsel, and the living word of God.* And St. John says, that “*in him was life, and the life was the light of men.*” i. 4. CALTON.

And in *Acts*, vii. 38. where it is said, “*Who received the lively (or living) oracles to give unto us,*” instead of *λόγια ζῶντα*, some copies read *λόγον ζῶντα*. DUNSTER.

Ibid. ————— *his living oracle*

Into the world &c.] Dr. Newton says he has here corrected an error, which had prevailed in most of the editions, except Milton's own, “*loving oracle*” instead of “*living oracle*.” He notices another error a little afterwards, “*and inward oracle*” instead of “*an inward oracle*.” Fenton had also rectified this last mistake. And Tomson's edit. of 1747 had rectified both.

Ver. 469. ————— *which not will*

But misery hath wrested from me.] Thus, in *Romeo and Juliet*, the Starved Apothecary excuses his selling poison,

“My poverty, but not my will, consents.” DUNSTER.

If it may stand him more in stead to lie,
 Say and unsay, feign, flatter, or abjure?
 But thou art plac'd above me, thou art Lord; 475
 From thee I can, and must submit, endure,
 Check or reproof, and glad to 'scape so quit.
 Hard are the ways of truth, and rough to walk,

Ver. 474. *Say and unsay, feign, flatter, or abjure?*] Might not Milton possibly intend here, and particularly by the word *abjure*, to lash some of his complying friends, who renounced their republican principles at the Restoration? THYER.

Ver. 478. *Hard are the ways of truth, and rough to walk,*] Thus Silius Italicus, iv. 605;

“Explorant adversa viros *pérque aspera dura*
Nititur ad laudem virtus interrita clivus.”

And in Book x., where Virtue is the speaker;

“*Castâ mihi domus, et calys stant cille penates;*
Ardua saxosâ perducit semita clivus;
Asper principio, (nec enim mihi fallere mos est),
Prosequitur labor. Aditendum intrare volenti.”

Thus also Hesiod, *Opera et Dies*, 289.

Τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς ἰσχυρὰ βροτοπράξις ἔργων
 Ἀβάντων· μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ ἑρμῆς ὁμῶς ἱπ' αἰθέρος,
 Καὶ τρεχέος τὸ πρῶτον.—

From whom Tasso, *Gier. Lib.* c. xvii. st. 61.

“Signor non sotto l'ombra in spiaggia molle,
 “Tra fonti, e fior, tra ninfe, e tra Sirene;
 “Ma in cima, a l'erto, e faticoso colle
 “De la virtù riposto è il vostro bene.
 “Chi non gela, e non suda, e non s'effolle
 “Da le vie del piacer, la non perviene.”

And from him Spenser, *Fairy Queen*, iii. xl. 41. DUNSTER.

Ibid. *Hard are the ways of truth, &c.*] See Mr. Warton's note on *Comus*, v. 476.

Smooth on the tongue discours'd, pleasing to the ear,

And tuneable as sylvan pipe or song ; 480

What wonder then if I delight to hear

Her dictates from thy mouth? Most men admire

Virtue, who follow not her lore : permit me

To hear thee when I come, (since no man comes,) 485

And talk at least, though I despair to attain.

Thy Father, who is holy, wife, and pure,

Suffers the hypocrite or atheous priest

To tread his sacred courts, and minister

Ver. 480. — *tuneable as sylvan pipe or song ;*] So, in *Par. Lost*, v. 149.

—————“ such prompt eloquence

“ Flow'd from their lips in prose, or numerous verse,

“ *More tuneable than needed lute or harp*

“ *To add more sweetness.*”

And Shakspere, *Midf. N. Dr.* A. i. S. xiv.

“ *More tuneable than lark to shepherd's ear.*”

DUNSTER.

Ver. 482. ————— *Most men admire*

Virtue, who follow not her lore :] Imitated from the well-known saying of Medea, Ovid *Met.* vii. 20.

—————“ *Video meliora, proboque ;*

“ *Deteriora sequor.*” NEWTON.

Ver. 487. ————— *atheous*] Cicero, speaking of Diagoras, says, “ *atheos qui dictus est.*” *De Nat. Deor.* i. 23.

DUNSTER.

Atheous may have hence been coined by the poet. *Atheal*, which has the same signification, is not uncommon in old English.

Ver. 488. *To tread his sacred courts,*] “ When ye come to appear before me, who hath required this at your hand, *to tread my courts?*” Isaiah, i. 12. DUNSTER,

About his altar, handling holy things,
 Praying or vowing; and vouchsaf'd his voice 490
 To Balaam reprobate, a prophet yet
 Inspir'd: disdain not such access to me.

To whom our Saviour, with unalter'd brow :
 Thy coming hither, though I know thy scope,
 I bid not, or forbid; do as thou find'st 495
 Permission from above; thou canst not more.

He added not; and Satan, bowing low
 His gray dissimulation, disappear'd

Ver. 490. *Praying or vowing;*] Besides sacrifices of prayer and thanksgiving, the Jews had vow-sacrifices, (*Lev. vii. 16.*) oblations for vows, (*xxii. 18.*) and sacrifices in performing their vows (*Numb. xv. 3. 8.*) DUNSTER.

Ibid. ———— *and vouchsaf'd his voice*

To Balaam reprobate,] An argument more plausible and more fallacious could not have been put into the mouth of the Tempter. Perfectly to enter into all the circumstances of this remarkable piece of Scripture history, and clearly to apprehend the judicious application of it by the poet in this place, we may refer to bishop Butler's excellent Sermon on *the Character of Balaam*, or to Shuckford's account of it in the twelfth Book of his *Connection of Sacred and Profane History*. DUNSTER.

Ver. 496. ———— *thou canst not more,*] So Gabriel replies to Satan, *Par. L. ft. B. iv. 1006.*

"Satan, I know thy strength, and thou know'st mine;

"Neither our own, but given. What folly then

"To boast what arms can do? since *thine no more*

"*Than Heaven permits*'———

Ver. 497. ———— *and Satan, bowing low*] From *Par. L. ft. B. iii. 736*, as Mr. Dunster also notes.

Ver. 498. *His gray dissimulation,*] Satan is still under his assumed character of an *old* countryman.

—————"an aged man in rural weeds."

Into thin air diffus'd : for now began
Night with her fullen wings to double-shade 500

In our author's Latin poem *on the Fifth of November*, where also he introduces him under the disguise of an old Franciscan friar, it is said,

—————“ *Assumptis micuerunt tempora canis,*”

which is equivalent to his *gray dissimulation* here. DUNSTER.

Ver. 499. *Into thin air diffus'd :*] So Virgil, *Æn.* iv. 278.

“ *Et procul in tenuem ex oculis evanuit auram.*”

NEWTON.

And Shakspeare, *Tempest*, A. iv. S. ii.

—————“ these our actors,

“ As I foretold you, were all spirits, and

“ Are melted into air, into thin air.” DUNSTER.

Ibid. ————— for now began

Night with her fullen wings to double-shade

The desert ; fowls in their clay nests were couch'd ;

And now wild beasts came forth the woods to roam.]

This brief description of night coming on in the desert is singularly fine. It is a small but exquisite *sketch*, which so immediately shews the *hand of the master*, that his larger and more finished pieces can hardly be rated higher.

The commencement of this description, both in respect of its beginning with an hemistich, and also in the sort of instantaneous coming on of night which it represents, resembles much a passage in Tasso, *Gier. Lib.* c. iii. st. 71.

“ *Così diss' egli ; — e già la Notte oscura*

“ *Havca tutti del giorno i raggi spenti.*” DUNSTER.

Ver. 500. ————— *her fullen wings*] Virgil, *Æn.* viii. 369.

“ *Nox ruit, et fuscis tellurem amplectitur alis.*”

And Tasso describes Night covering the sky *with her wings*, *Gier. Lib.* c. viii. st. 57.

The defart; fowls in their clay nefts were
couch'd;
And now wild beafts came forth the woods to
roam.

“Sorgea la Notte in tanto, e fottò l' ali
“Recopriva del Cielo i campi immenfi.”

Spenser alfo, *Fairy Queen*, vi. viii. 44.

————— “and now the Even-tide
“His *broad black wings* had through the Heavens wide
“By this difpread.”

And *Mil' gno*, ver. 6;

“Where *broad as Darkness* freads her *jealous wings*.”

DUNSTER.

Ver. 500. ————— *to double shade*

The defart } i. e. to double the natural fhade and
darknefs of the place. This is more fully expreffed in Hogarth's
translation of this paffage.

“Nam nunc obfcuras Nox atra expandere penas
“Cæperat, atque *nigras nerrare gemas tenebras*.”

Thus in *Comus*, v. 335.

“*In double night of darknefs and of fhades*.”

In a note on which laft verfe, in Mr. Warton's edition of the
Juvenile Poems, the following line of Pacuvius, cited by Cicero,
(*De Dramat.* i. 14.) is exhibited;

“*Tenebræ conduplicantur, noctifque et nimborum occidit
nigror.*”

We may alfo compare Ovid, *Met.* xi. 548;

“————— tanta vertigine pontus
“Fervet, et indictâ piccis a nubibus umbrâ
“Omne latet cælum, *duplicatâque noctis imago est.*”

And *Ibid.* 521;

“Cæcæque nox premitur *tenebrisque hyemifque fufifque.*”

DUNSTER.

But, as I have formerly observed in a note on the verse just cited from *Comus*, the verb *double-shade* might have been suggested by a bold expression in Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, edit. 1621, p. 1177.

“*Double-nighted* in dark error.”

Dryden perhaps had this passage of *Par. Regained* in view, when he penned the following lines in *Aureng-zebe*, A. v. S. i.

“The *Night* seems *doubled* with the fear she brings,

“And, o’er the citadel, new-spreads her *wings*.”

Milton’s “*double night* of darkness and of shades” has also afforded Young an opportunity of moral adaptation, *Night-Thought* i. 43.

“Through this opaque of Nature and of Soul,

“*This double night*.”

THE END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

THE
SECOND BOOK
OF
PARADISE REGAINED.

THE ARGUMENT.

The Disciples of Jesus, uneasy at his long absence, reason amongst themselves concerning it. Mary also gives vent to her maternal anxiety: in the expression of which she recapitulates many circumstances respecting the birth and early life of her Son.—Satan again meets his Infernal Council, reports the bad success of his first temptation of our Blessed Lord, and calls upon them for counsel and assistance. Belial proposes the tempting of Jesus with women. Satan rebukes Belial for his dissoluteness, charging on him all the profligacy of that kind ascribed by the poets to the Heathen Gods, and rejects his proposal as in no respect likely to succeed. Satan then suggests other modes of temptation, particularly proposing to deal himself of the circumstance of our Lord's hungering; and, taking a band of chosen Spirits with him, returns to resume his enterprise.—Jesus hungers in the desert. --Night comes on; the manner in which our Saviour passes the night is described. Morning advances. - Satan again appears to Jesus, and, after expressing wonder that he should be so entirely neglected in the wilderness, where others had been miraculously fed, tempts him with a sumptuous banquet of the most luxurious kind. This he rejects, and the banquet vanishes. Satan, finding our Lord not to be assailed on the ground of appetite, tempts him again by offering him riches, as the means of acquiring power: This Jesus also rejects, producing many instances of great actions performed by persons under virtuous poverty, and specifying the danger of riches, and the cares and pains inseparable from power and greatness.

PARADISE REGAINED.

BOOK II.

MEAN while the new-baptiz'd, who yet
remain'd
At Jordan with the Baptist, and had seen
Him whom they heard so late expressly call'd

Ver. 1. *Mean while the new-baptiz'd, &c.*] The greatest, and indeed justest, objection to this Poem is the narrowness of its plan, which, being confined to that single scene of our Saviour's life on earth, his Temptation in the Desert, has too much sameness in it, too much of the reasoning, and too little of the descriptive part; a defect most certainly in an epic poem, which ought to consist of a proper and happy mixture of the instructive and the delightful. Milton was himself, no doubt, sensible of this imperfection, and has therefore very judiciously contrived and introduced all the little digressions that could with any sort of propriety connect with his subject, in order to relieve and refresh the reader's attention. The following conversation betwixt Andrew and Simon upon the missing of our Saviour so long, with the Virgin's reflections on the same occasion, and the council of the Devils how best to attack their enemy, are instances of this sort, and both very happily executed in their respective ways. The language of the former is cool and unaffected, corresponding most exactly to the humble pious character of the speakers: that of the latter is full of energy and majesty, and not inferior to their most spirited speeches in the *Paradise Lost*. THYER.

Jefus Meffiah, Son of God declar'd,
 And on that high authority had believ'd, 5
 And with him talk'd, and with him lodg'd; I
 mean
 Andrew and Simon, famous after known,

Ver. 4. *Jefus Meffiah, Son of God declar'd,*] This is a great mistake in the Poet. All that the people could collect from the declarations of John the Baptist, and the voice from Heaven, was that he was a great prophet, and this was all they did in fact collect; they were uncertain whether he was their promised Messiah. **WARBURTON.**

But surely the declaration, *by the voice from Heaven*, of Jesus being *the beloved Son of God* was, as Milton terms it, "high authority" for believing that he was the MESSIAH.—John the Baptist had also, *John* i. 29, expressly called him "*the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world*," referring, as is generally supposed, to *Isaiah*, liii. 7. And, the day following, John's giving him the same title, "*Behold the Lamb of God!*" (*John*, i. 36.) is the ground of Andrew's conversion, who thereupon followed Jesus, and having passed some time with him, declared to his brother Peter, "*We have found the Messiah, which is, being interpreted, the Christ*," *John*, i. 41. **DUNSTER.**

Ver. 6. *And with him talk'd, and with him lodg'd,*] These particulars are founded, (as Dr. Newton observes,) on what is related in the first chapter of St. John, respecting two of John's disciples, (one of whom was Andrew, and the other probably John the Evangelist himself,) *following Jesus*, to the place *where he dwelt*, and *abiding with him that day*. **DUNSTER.**

Ibid. ————— I mean

Andrew and Simon,] This sounds very profane; but I find a like instance or two in Harrington's translation of the *Orlando Furioso*, c. xxxi. ff. 46.

"And calling still upon that noble name,
 "That often had the Pagans overcome,
 "(I mean Renaldo's house of Montalbano)."

With others though in Holy Writ not nam'd ;
 Now missing him, their joy so lately found,
 (So lately found, and so abruptly gone,) 10
 Began to doubt, and doubted many days,
 And, as the days encreas'd, encreas'd their doubt.
 Sometimes they thought he might be only shown,
 And for a time caught up to God, as once
 Moses was in the mount and missing long, 15
 And the great Thibbite, who on fiery wheels

And again, ft. 55.

"How she had seen the bridge the Pagan made,

"(I mean the cruel Pagan Rodomont)." NEWTON.

Ver. 13. *Sometimes they thought he might be only shown,*
 Virg. *Æn.* vi. 870.

"Ostendent terris hunc tantum fata, nec ultra

"Esse finent." NEWTON.

Ver. 14. ————— as once

Moses was in the mount and missing long,] See
Exodus, xxxii. 1. DUNSTER.

Ver. 16. *And the great Thibbite,*] Or *Tibbite*, as he is called
 in Scripture, 1 *Kings*, xvii. 1. Elijah, a native of Thibe or
 Tibbe, a city of the country of Gilead, beyond Jordan.

NEWTON.

Milton, in one of his early Latin Poems, terms Elijah, "*vates
 terræ Thesbitidis*," El. iv. 97. DUNSTER.

So, in Sandys's *Christ's Passion*, Elijah is called "the *Thesbian
 prophet*," p. 51. edit. 1640.

Ibid. ————— *who on fiery wheels*

Rode up to Heaven,] See 11 *Kings*, ii. 11.

Whence Milton, in his *Elegy on the Death of Felton, bishop of
 Ely*,

"Ad astra sublimis feror,

"*Vates ut olim raptus ad cælum senex*

"*Auriga curvus ignis*."

Rode up to Heaven, yet once again to come :

And, in his *Epigram on the Gunpowder Plot* :

“ Scilicet hos alti missurus ad atria cœli,

“ Sulphureo curru, flammævolisque rotis; &c.”

DUNSTER.

Ver. 17. ————— yet once again to come :] It hath been the opinion of the Church, that there would be an Elias before Christ's second coming, as well as before his first : and this opinion the learned Mr. Mede supports from the prophecy of Malachi, iv. 5. “ *Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet, before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord, &c.*” and from what our Saviour says, Matt. xvii. 11. “ *Elias truly shall first come, and restore all things.*” These words our Saviour spake when John Baptist was beheaded, and yet speaks as of a thing future, ἀποκαταστήσει πάντα, “ *and shall restore all things.*” But as it was not Elias in person, but only in spirit, who appeared before our Saviour's first coming, so will it also be before his second. The reader may see the arguments at large, in Mr. Mede's *Disserturje* XXV. which no doubt Milton had read, not only on account of the fame and excellence of the writer, but as he was also his fellow-collegian. NEWTON.

Though our Saviour used the word ἀποκαταστήσει in the future tense, something must be previously understood to limit the sense of it to what was then passed, to a prophecy already accomplished. Bishop Pearce in his commentary on the passage has, “ *was to come first and restore all things.*” And Beza, in a note on the place, says, “ *Hæc autem intelligenda sunt, forma dicendi e medio petita, perinde ac si diceret Christus, Verum quidem est quod Scribæ dicunt etiam videlicet antegressurum fuisse Messiam, et seculuræ instaurationis viam aperturum; sed dico vobis Eliam jam venisse, &c.*”

It was however the general tradition of the elder writers of the Christian Church, from those words of Malachi, that Elias the Tishbite was to come in person before our Lord's second advent ; which opinion, the Jesuit De la Cerda, in his *Commentary on Tertullian De Resurrect. Carn. C. 23.* says, all the ancient Fathers have delivered, “ *tradit tota Patrum antiquitas.*”

DUNSTER.

Therefore, as those young prophets then with care
Sought lost Elijah, so in each place these
Nigh to Bethabara, in Jericho

20

Ver. 20. *Nigh to Bethabara,*] It has been observed in a preceding note (B. i. ver. 193.) that M. D'Anville, in the map of Judea in his *Géographie Ancienne*, has laid down Bethabara wrong. The same error I find in the Map annexed to the small Greek Testament published by Wetstein, in 1711, with Mills's Prolegomena prefixed. Adrichomius, in his *Theatrum Terre Sanctæ*, places Bethabara on the eastern bank of the river Jordan, at a small distance from the Dead Sea, nearly opposite Jericho. Indeed if we consider it to have been the place where the Israelites passed over Jordan to go into the land of Canaan, on which ever side of the river we place it, it must have been nearly opposite Jericho, as it is expressly said, *Josbua*, iii. 16. *the people passed over right against Jericho.* The Eastern Travellers also show that the place, where the tradition of that country supposes Jesus to have been baptized by John in Jordan, was not more than a day's journey distant from Jerusalem; and that Jericho lay directly in the way to it. (See Pocock's Travels in the East, and Maundrel's Journal.) Bishop Pearce places Bethabara on the same side of the river with Jericho, that is, on the western bank. This opinion he grounds on what is said, *Judges*, vii. 24. about the inhabitants of Mount Ephraim *taking the waters*, (i. e. taking possession of all the springs,) from them *unto Bethbarah and Jordan.* Bethabara indeed (*John*, i. 28,) is described *beyond Jordan*, $\pi \acute{\epsilon} \rho \alpha \nu \tau \acute{\epsilon} \iota \rho \delta \acute{\alpha} \nu$; but this Bishop Pearce reconciles by shewing that $\pi \acute{\epsilon} \rho \alpha \nu$ often signifies in Scripture, *on the side of*, or *on this side of*. For this construction of $\pi \acute{\epsilon} \rho \alpha \nu$, he cites many authorities in his note on *Matt.* iv. 15, and likewise refers to Casaubon's note on *John*, i. 28. But it should be observed that Beza has the same remark, and that he renders $\pi \acute{\epsilon} \rho \alpha \nu \tau \acute{\epsilon} \iota \rho \delta \acute{\alpha} \nu$ not *trans Jordanum*, but *sicus Jordanum*, "nigh to Jordan," both in *Matt.* iv. 15, and *John*, i. 28.—St. Jerom, *De Nominibus Hebræis*, speaks of Bethabara as standing partly on the western, and partly on the eastern, bank of the river Jordan.

DUNSTER.

The city of palms, Ænon, and Salem old,

Ibid. ————— in *Jericho*

The city of palms, &c.] Jericho is called the city of palms, Deut. xxxiv. 3. and Josephus, Strabo, Pliny, and all writers describe it as abounding with those trees. Ænon is mentioned, John, iii. 23, as is likewise Salm or Salem. But there appears to be no particular reason for our author's calling it Salem old, unless he takes it to be the same with the Shalem mentioned, Gen. xxxiii. 18. or confounds it with the Salm where Melchizedek was king. Machærus was a castle in the mountainous part of Peræa or the country beyond Jordan, which river is well known to run through the lake of Genezareth, or the sea of Tiberias, or the sea of Galilee, as it is otherwise called. So that they searched in each place on this side Jordan, or in Peræa, πέραν Ἰορδάνου, beyond it. NEWTON.

By the expression *on this side the broad lake Genezareth*, I would understand not *on the opposite side of the river to Peræa*, but *below the lake of Genezareth, or to the south of it*, between that and the Asphaltick Lake, or the Dead Sea; which is exactly the situation of the places here mentioned, none of which could be properly said to have stood *on this side*, that is on the western side of the lake of Genezareth, though three of them stood on the western side of the river Jordan. Or in Peræa, may be only understood to mean *and in Peræa*, or *even in Peræa*. Such is often the conjunctive sense of *et*, and sometimes of *aut* in Latin, and of *ἢ* in Greek. It is probable that Milton had the same idea of the situation of Bethabara, with that noticed in the preceding note, as admitted by bishop Pearce, and before suggested by Beza and Casaubon. This he may be supposed to have acquired from Beza, whose translation of the Greek Testament with notes, we may imagine, was in no small degree of repute, at the time when our author visited Geneva. Accordingly the first place where he makes the disciples seek Jesus is Jericho, on the same side of the river as Bethabara, and the nearest place of any consequence to it; then Ænon and Salem, both likewise on the same side, but higher up towards the lake of Genezareth; then he seems to make them cross the river and seek him in all

Machærus, and each town or city wall'd
 On this side the broad lake Genezaret,
 Or in Peræa ; but return'd in vain.
 Then on the bank of Jordan, by a creek, 25

the places in the opposite country of Peræa, down to the town and strong fortrefs of Machærus, which is mentioned by Josephus, *De bello Jud.* L. 7. C. 6. Milton had good authority for terming Salem, *Salem old*. Adrichomius, speaking of *Salem*, or *Salim*, says, “ Ex veteribus Hebræorum Rabbinis docet Hieronymus, non videri hanc esse Hierusalem, quod nomen ipsum demonstret ex græco hebraicoque compositum, sed oppidum juxta Scythopolim, quod usque hodie appellatur Salem ; ubi ostenditur palatium Melchizedec, ex magnitudine ruinarum veteris operis ostendens magnificentiam de quo in posteriore parte Geneseos scriptum est : Venit Jacob in Soccoth, et transiit in Salem civitatem regionis Sichem.” See *Hieronym. Epist. ad Evag.* The Septuagint, *Gen.* xxxiii. 18. writes it *εἰς Σαλήμ*. DUNSTER.

Ver. 23. ——— *the broad lake Genezaret,*] The Lake of Genezaret, or Genezareth, through which the river Jordan ran, is computed by Josephus to be eighteen miles long, and *five broad*. It is described by Pliny as sixteen miles long, and *six broad* ; Pococke likewise says it is fourteen or fifteen miles long.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 25. ——— *on the bank of Jordan, by a creek,*

Where winds with reeds and osiers whispering play,]

Mr. Dunster observes, that Maundrell, in his *Journey to Jerusalem*, &c. describes the river Jordan as having its banks in some parts covered so thick with bushes and trees, such as tamarisks, oleanders, and willows, that they prevented the water from being seen till any one had made his way through them. In this thicket, he says, several sorts of wild beasts harbour, which are frequently washed out of their covert by the sudden over-flowings of the river. Hence that allusion in *Jeremiah*, xlix. 19. “ Behold, he shall come up like a lion from the swelling of Jordan.” The same critick also notices the refer-

Where winds with reeds and osiers whispering
play,

ence made to the reedy banks of Jordan, in Giles Fletcher's *Christ's Triumph over Death*, fl. 2.

"Or *whispering reeds* that rutty Jordan laves."

Milton, by the distinction which he here makes, had perhaps noticed Sandys's account of Jordan, in his *Travels*; who says, "Passing along, it maketh *two* lakes, *the one* in the Upper Galilee, named Samachonitis (now Houle), in the summer for the most part dry, *the other* in the Inferior, called the Sea of Galilee, *the lake of Genezareth*, and of Tyberias, &c." p. 141. edit. 1615.

Ver. 26. ————— whispering *plays*,] The *whispering* of the wind is an image that Milton is particularly fond of, and has introduced in many beautiful passages of his *Paradise Lost*. Thus, in the opening of the fifth Book, where Adam wakes Eve;

—————"then with voice

"Mild, as when Zephyrus or Flora breathes,

"Her hand soft touching, *whisper'd* thus."

He also applies *whispering* to the flowing of a stream; to the air that plays upon the water, or by the side of it; and to the combined sound of the breeze and the current.

In the fourth Book of this Poem, he terms the river Ilysus, a "*whispering stream*."

And, in *Par. Lost*, B. iv. 325, he describes

—————"a tuft of shade that on a green

"Stood *whispering* soft, by a *triple fountain* side."

In his *Travels*, ver. 136, likewise, he addresses the

—————"valleys low, where the *mild whisperers*

"Of shades, and wanton winds, and gurgling brooks."

"The *mild whisper* of the refreshing breeze" he had before introduced in his Latin poem, *In Adventum Veris*, ver. 27.

Plain fishermen, (no greater men them call,)
Close in a cottage low together got,
Their unexpected loss and plaints out breath'd.

Alas, from what high hope to what relapse 30
Unlook'd for are we fall'n! our eyes beheld

“ Quaque jaces circum mulcebit *lene* *sufurrans*
“ *Aura.*”

which might have been originally suggested to him by Virgil's
Callex, v. 152.

“ At circa passim fessæ cubuere capellæ,
“ Excelsisque super dumis; quos *leniter* *adflans*
“ *Aura susurrantis* possit confundere *venti.*” DUNSTER.

A very pleasing passage may be here adduced from our ancient
poetry, *The Whipping of the Satyre* by W. J. 12mo. 1601.

“ There breath'd the spirit of sweete Zephyrus
“ Among the leaues whispering with stillest voyce,
“ And cristall springs through siluer pipes did gush,
“ Inviting sleepe with gentle muttering noyse:
“ There sweetly warbled Nature's feather'd quires,
“ Embow'd with shady bough-combynding briers.”

Compare Milton's *L'Allegro* also, v. 116.

“ By whispering winds soon lull'd asleep.”

Ver. 27. *Plain fishermen, (no greater men them call,)* Thus
Spenser, in the beginning of his *Shepherd's Calendar*,

“ A shepheid's boy, (*no better do him call.*)”

NEWTON.

Ver. 30. *Alas, from what high hope]* So we read in the
first edition: In most of the others it is absurdly printed “ *Alas,*
from *that* high hope.” NEWTON.

Ibid. *Alas, from what high hope to what relapse*

Unlook'd for are we fall'n!] Ter. *Heaut.* A. ii. S. ii.

—“ *væ misero mihi, quanta de spe decidi!*”

NEWTON.

Messiah certainly now come, so long
 Expected of our fathers; we have heard
 His words, his wisdom full of grace and truth;
 Now, now, for sure, deliverance is at hand, 35
 The kingdom shall to Israel be restor'd;
 Thus we rejoic'd, but soon our joy is turn'd
 Into perplexity and new amaze:
 For whither is he gone, what accident
 Hath rapt him from us? will he now retire 40
 After appearance, and again prolong
 Our expectation? God of Israel,
 Send thy Messiah forth, the time is come;
 Behold the kings of the earth, how they oppress
 Thy chosen; to what highth their power unjust 45

Ver. 34. ————— *full of grace and truth;*] “And the word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, *full of grace and truth.*” John, i. 14. NEWTON.

Ver. 40. *Hath rapt him from us?*] See Mr. Warton's note on *Il Penseroso*, v. 40.

Ver. 42. ————— *God of Israel,*
Send thy Messiah forth, &c.] This sudden turn and breaking forth into prayer to God is beautiful. The prayer itself is conceived very much in the spirit of the Psalms, and almost in the words of some of them. NEWTON.

Ver. 44. *Behold the kings of the earth, how they oppress*
Thy chosen;] “The kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take counsel together, against the Lord, and against his Anointed.” *Psalms* ii. 2.

It is possible, that some allusion might be here intended to the situation of Milton's Party at the Restoration. DUNSTER.

They have exalted, and behind them cast
 All fear of thee; arise, and vindicate
 Thy glory; free thy people from their yoke.
 But let us wait; thus far he hath perform'd,
 Sent his Anointed, and to us reveal'd him, 50
 By his great Prophet, pointed at and shown
 In publick, and with him we have convers'd;
 Let us be glad of this, and all our fears
 Lay on his Providence; he will not fail,
 Nor will withdraw him now, nor will recall, 55
 Mock us with his blest sight, then snatch him
 hence;

Soon we shall see our Hope, our Joy, return.

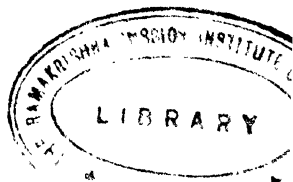
Thus they, out of their plaints, new hope
 resume

To find whom at the first they found unfought:
 But, to his mother Mary, when she saw 60
 Others return'd from Baptism, not her son,
 Nor left at Jordan, tidings of him none,

Ver. 46. ————— and behind them cast
All fear of thee;] “ Nevertheless they were disobedient and rebelled against thee, and cast thy law behind their backs.” Nehemiah, ix. 26. DUNSTER.

Ver. 51. ————— pointed at and shown] Should it not rather be “ pointed out?” Though perhaps Milton had in his mind Persius, *Sat.* i. 28. “ *Digitis monstrari, et dicier hic est.*” DUNSTER.

“ Pointed at” is perhaps synonymous with “ pointed out.” The phrase is similar also to that of Ovid, *Am.* III. vi. 77. “ *Digitis vulgi designari.*”



Within her-breast though calm, her breast though
 pure,
 Motherly cares and fears got head, and rais'd
 Some troubled thoughts, which she in sighs thus
 clad. 65
 O, what avails me now that honour high

Ver. 65. *Some troubled thoughts, which she in sighs thus clad.*] It is hardly possible not to notice the striking beauty of this line. There is a passage somewhat resembling it in *Par. Lost*, B. i. 620.

“ *Words interwove with sighs found out their way.* ”

DUNSTER.

Ibid. ————— *in sighs thus clad.*] Mr. Dunster cites a similar expression from Cicero, “ *Sententias reconditas exquisitâsque mollis et pellucens vestiebat oratio.* ” *De Clar. Orator.* 274. ed. Proust : and from Drummond’s beautiful *Sonnet to the Nightingale*, “ *Thy songs attir’d in sweetness :* ” and also from Milton’s address to his Native Language, *Vac. Exercise*, v. 32.

“ *Before thou clothe my fancy in fit sound.* ”

Ver. 66. *O, what avails me now that honour high &c.*] In several parts of this speech Milton appears to have had Vida in his mind. In this opening of it, at verse 77, and from verse 87 to 92, we plainly trace him to Mary’s lamentation under the Cross, *Christ.* v. 870.

“ *At non certe olim præpes demissus Olympo*
 “ *Nuntius hæc pavidæ dederat promissa puellæ.*
 “ *Sic una ante alias felix ego, sic ego cæli*
 “ *Incedo regina? mea est hæc gloria magna,*
 “ *Hic meus altus hinc. Quo reges munera opima*
 “ *Obtulerunt mihi post partus? Quo carmina læta*
 “ *Cælestes cecinere chori, si me ista manebat*
 “ *Sors tamen, et vitam, cladem hanc visura, trahebam?*
 “ *Felices illæ, nates quibus impius hausit*
 “ *Infantes regis furor ipso in limine vitæ,*
 “ *Dum tibi vana timens funus molitur acerbum :*
 “ *Ut cuperem te diluvio cecidisse sub illo!*

To have conceiv'd of God, or that salute,
 " Hail highly favour'd, among women blest!"
 While I to sorrows am no less advanc'd,
 And fears as eminent, above the lot 70
 Of other women, by the birth I bore;
 In such a season born, when scarce a shed
 Could be obtain'd to shelter him or me
 From the bleak air; a stable was our warmth,
 A manger his; yet soon enforc'd to fly 75
 Thence into Egypt, till the murderous king
 Were dead, who fought his life, and missing fill'd
 With infant blood the streets of Bethlehem;
 From Egypt home return'd, in Nazareth

" Hos, his horribili monitu trepidantia corda
 Terrificans senior luctus sperare jubebat,
 Et cecinit fore, cum pectus matri figeret ensis:
 " Nunc altè mucro, nunc altè valnus adactum."

DUNSTER.

Ver. 75. ——— yet soon enforc'd to fly &c.] We may compare the following stanza of Giles Fletcher's *Christ's Victory in Heaven*.

" And yet but newly he was infanted,
 " And yet already he was fought to die;
 " Yet scarcely born, already banished,
 " Not able yet to go, and forc'd to fly;
 " But scarcely fled away, when by and by
 " The Tyrant's sword with blood is all defil'd, &c."

DUNSTER.

Ver. 79. ——— in Nazareth

Had been our dwelling many years;] She mentions this as part of their distress, because the country of Galilee, whereof Nazareth was a city, was the most despised part of Palestine, despised by the Jews themselves: and therefore Na-

Hath been our dwelling many years ; his life 80
 Private, unactive, calm, contemplative,
 Little suspicious to any king ; but now,
 Full grown to man, acknowledg'd, as I hear,
 By John the Baptist, and in publick shown,
 Son own'd from Heaven by his Father's voice, 85
 I look'd for some great change ; to honour ? no,
 But trouble, as old Simeon plain foretold,
 That to the fall and rising he should be
 Of many in Israël, and to a sign
 Spoken against, that through my very soul 90

thaniel asketh Philip, *John* i. 46. "*Can there any good thing come out of Nazareth ?*" NEWTON.

This passage does not strike me exactly in the same light as it does Dr. Newton. All this description of the early private life of our Saviour seems rather designed to contrast and to give more effect to the expectations of Mary, where she says,

—————" but now
 " Full grown to man, acknowledg'd, as I hear,
 " By John the Baptist, and in publick shown,
 " Son own'd from Heaven by his Father's voice,
 " I look'd for some great change." DUNSTER.

Ver. 80. ————— *his life*

*Private, unactive, calm, contemplative,
 Little suspicious to any king ;*] Very possibly not without an intended reference to Milton's own way of life after the Restoration. DUNSTER.

Ver. 88. *That to the fall and rising he should be
 Of many in Israël, &c.*] " And Simeon blessed them, and said unto Mary his Mother, Behold this child is set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel ; and for a sign which shall be spoken against : (yea a sword shall pierce through thy own soul also) that the thoughts of many hearts may be revealed." *Luke*, ii. 34, 35. DUNSTER.

A sword shall pierce: This is my favour'd lot,
 My exaltation to afflictions high;
 Afflicted I may be, it seems, and blest;
 I will not argue that, nor will repine.
 But where delays he now? some great intent 95
 Conceals him: When twelve years he scarce had
 seen,

Ver. 91. ———— *This is my favour'd lot,*

My exaltation to afflictions high;] These are the afflictions that Mary notices; not the circumstances of dwelling in a disreputable place, but her anxiety about her son, and what she then suffered, and was still to suffer, upon his account.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 93. *Afflicted I may be, it seems, and blest;*

I will not argue that, nor will repine.

But where delays he now? some great intent

Conceals him:] How charmingly does Milton here

verify the character he had before given of the Blessed Virgin in the lines above!

“ Within her breast though calm, her breast though pure,

“ Motherly cares and fears got head.”

We see at one view the piety of the saint, and the tenderness of the mother; and I think nothing can be conceived more beautiful and moving than the sudden start of fond impatience in the third line, *But where delays he now?* breaking in so abruptly upon the composed resignation expressed in the two preceding ones. The same beauty is continued in her suddenly checking herself, and resuming her calm and resigned character again in these words — *some great intent conceals him.* THYER.

Ver. 94. *I will not argue that,]* This is seemingly with a view to the sense of *arguo* in Latin, to *blame, reprehend, accuse.*

DUNSTER.

Compare the same sentiment in his xxii. *Sonnet*, v. 6.

————— “ *I argue not*

“ *Against Heaven's hand or will, nor bate a jot*

“ *Of heart or hope.*”

I lost him, but so found, as well I saw
 He could not lose himself, but went about
 His Father's business; what he meant I mus'd,
 Since understand; much more his absence now 100
 Thus long to some great purpose he obscures.
 But I to wait with patience am inur'd;
 My heart hath been a store-house long of things
 And sayings laid up, portending strange events.

Thus Mary, pondering oft, and oft to mind 105
 Recalling what remarkably had pass'd
 Since first her salutation heard, with thoughts
 Meekly compos'd awaited the fulfilling:

Ver. 98. ————— *but went about*

His Father's business;] "And he said unto them,
 How is it that ye sought me? Wist ye not that I must be *about*
my Father's business?" Luke, ii. 49. DUNSTER.

Ver. 103. *My heart hath been a store-house long of things*
And sayings laid up, portending strange events.

Thus Mary, pondering oft, &c. &c.] Alluding
to what is said of her, Luke, ii. 19. "But Mary kept all these
things, and pondered them in her heart:" and again, ver. 51.
"but his mother kept all these sayings in her heart:" So consistent
 is the part that she acts here with her character in Scripture.

NEWTON.

Ver. 107. ————— *with thoughts*

Meekly compos'd awaited the fulfilling:] This is
beautifully expressed.—There is a passage somewhat similar, in
Paradise Lost, B. xii. 596, where Michael, having concluded
what he had to show Adam from the mountain, and what he had
further to inform him of in narration there, says they must now
descend from this "top of speculation;" and, bidding Adam
go awaken Eve, adds

"Her also I with gentle dreams have calm'd

"Portending good, and *all her spirits compos'd*

"*To meek submission.*" DUNSTER.

The while her Son, tracing the desert wild,
 Sole, but with holiest meditations fed, 110
 Into himself descended, and at once
 All his great work to come before him set;
 How to begin, how to accomplish best
 His end of being on earth, and mission high:
 For Satan, with sly preface to return, 115
 Had left him vacant, and with speed was gone
 Up to the middle region of thick air,
 Where all his potentates in council sat;
 There, without sign of boast, or sign of joy,
 Solicitous and blank, he thus began. 120

Princes, Heaven's ancient Sons, ethereal Thrones;
 Demonian Spirits now, from the element
 Each of his reign allotted, rightlier call'd
 Powers of fire, air, water, and earth beneath,

Ver. 111. *Into himself descended,*] Perf. Sat. iv. 23.

"*Ut nemo in sese tentat descendere!*" NEWTON.

Compare Daniel's *Complaint of Rosamond*, edit. 1605.

"*Into my selfe my waking thought retires.*"

Ver. 119. *There, without sign of boast, or sign of joy,*] In contrast to the boasting manner in which Satan had related his success against Man, on his return to Pandæmonium, *Paradise Lost*, B. x. 460. DUNSTER.

Ver. 120. *Solicitous*] Solicitous seems here used under a recollection of the definition given by Cicero of *Solicitudo*, which he terms "*Ægritudo cum cogitatione.*" Tusc. Quæst. iv. 8.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 122. *Demonian Spirits now, from the element
 Each of his reign allotted, rightlier call'd
 Powers of fire, air, water, and earth beneath,*] It was a notion among the Ancients, especially among the Platonists, that there were Demons in each element, some visible, others

(So may we hold our place and these mild seats 125
Without new trouble,) such an enemy

invisible, in the æther, and fire, and air, and water, so that no part of the world was devoid of soul: εἰσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι δαιμόνιαι, ὧς καὶ καλοῖσι ἂν τις γενέσθαι θεός, καὶ ἕκαστος τῶν στοιχείων, οἱ μὲν ὄρατοι, οἱ δὲ ἀόρατοι, ἐν τῷ αἰθέρι, καὶ πυρὶ, αἰρὶ τε, καὶ ὕδατι, ὧς μηδὲν κοσμοῦ μίσηται ψυχῆς ἀμοιβὴν εἶναι, as Alcinous in his summary of the Platonick doctrines says, cap. 5.—Michael Pfellus, in his dialogue concerning the operation of Demons, from whence Milton borrowed some of his notions of Spirits, speaks to the same purpose, that there are many kinds of Demons, and of all sorts of forms and bodies, so that the air above us and around us is full, the earth and the sea are full, and the inmost and deepest recesses: πολλὰ δαιμόνια γένε, καὶ παροδὸν τὰς ἰδίαις καὶ τὰ σώματα· ὧς εἶναι πλήρη μὲν τὴν αἶρα, τὸν τε ἑσπερίην ἡμῶν καὶ τὴν περὶ ἡμᾶς· πλήρη δὲ γαῖαν καὶ θαλάσσαν, καὶ τὰς μυχαίτατος καὶ βύθους [βύθους] τέπας, p. 41; and he divides them into six kinds, the fiery, the æry, the earthy, the watery, the subterraneous, and the lucifugous, p. 45. edit. Lutet. Paris. 1615. But the Demons not only resided in the elements, and partook of their nature, but also presided and ruled over them; as Jupiter in the air, Vulcan in the fire, Neptune in the water, Cybele in the earth, and Pluto under the earth. NEWTON.

In the fourth Book of this Poem, ver. 201, the Demons are described

“Tetrarchs of fire, air, flood, and on the earth, &c.”

And in the *Pensersos*, ver. 93.

“And of those Demons that are found

“In fire, air, flood, or under ground, &c.”

Mr. Warton supposes that Shakspere alludes to these Demons, when, in his *Hamlet*, speaking of the crowing of the cock, he says,

————— “at his warning,

“Whether in sea, or fire, in earth, or air,

“The extravagant and erring spirit flies

“To his confine.” DUNSTER.

Is risen to invade us, who no less
Threatens than our expulsion down to Hell ;
I, as I undertook, and with the vote
Consenting in full frequency was impower'd, 130
Have found him, view'd him, tasted him ; but
find

Far other labour to be undergone
Than when I dealt with Adam, first of Men,
Though Adam by his wife's allurements fell,
However to this Man inferiour far ; 135
If he be Man by mother's side, at least
With more than human gifts from Heaven adorn'd,
Perfections absolute, graces divine,

I refer the reader, as before, to Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* on this subject. See notes on *Par. Lost*, B. i. 423, B. ii. 90, and B. vi. 344.

Ver. 130. ——— in full frequency] Milton, in his *History of England*, has said, " The assembly was full and frequent : " and in *Paradise Lost*, B. i. 797, the council of Devils was frequent and full. Here the adjective is formed into a substantive, as in B. i. 128 : and Shakspeare uses it in the same manner, *Timon*, A. v. S. iii.

" Tell Athens, in the frequency of degree,

" From high to low throughout." NEWTON.

Ver. 131. ——— tasted him ;] This is a Græcism. *Tévoμας* signifies not only *gusto*, but likewise *experior*, *periculus facio*. DUNSTER.

Ver. 135. However to this Man inferiour far ;
If he be Man by mother's side, at least
With more than human gifts from Heaven adorn'd,
Perfections absolute, &c. &c.] I have ventured

here to correct the punctuation. The passage in the first editions, and in Dr. Newton's, stands pointed thus :

And amplitude of mind to greatest deeds.
Therefore I am return'd, full confidence 140

"However to this Man inferior far,
"If he be Man by Mother's side at least,
"With more than human gifts from Heaven adorn'd, &c."

On this Mr. Calton observes: "The Tempter had no doubt of Christ's being a *Man by the mother's side*; but the want of a comma in its due place after *If he be Man*, hath puzzled both the sense and the construction. *He is* must be understood at the end of the verse, to support the syntax;

"If he be Man, by mother's side at least (*he is*)"

Dr. Newton has however preserved the pointing of Milton's own edition, because some, he says, may choose to join the whole together, and understand it thus: "Satan had heard Jesus declared from Heaven, and knew him to be Son of God; and now, after the trial he had made of him, he questions if he be Man even by the mother's side,"

"If he be Man by mother's side at least,"

He further observes, that it is the purport of Satan, in this speech, not to say any thing to the evil spirit, that may lessen, but every thing that may raise, their idea of his antagonist.

It seems to me, that there can be no doubt respecting this passage. Dr. Newton certainly sees it in its true light: but I conceive his sense of it is strengthened and brought forward with additional beauty, and the whole of the sentence is rendered more clear and perfect, by the punctuation which I have adopted, and which I think most probably to have been intended by Milton.

DUNSTON.

Ver. 137. *With more than human gifts from Heaven adorn'd,
Perfections absolute, graces divine,
And amplitude of mind to greatest deeds.*] Many lines of the *Paradise Regained* have been censured as harsh and inharmonious; but even of these the greater part may be vindicated, (as it has been done in some instances by Mr. Thyer,) by showing that they are very far from being of that kind *quæ incuria fudit*, and that many of them are peculiarly expressive,

Of my success with Eve in Paradise
 Deceive ye to persuasion over-sure
 Of like succeeding here : I summon all
 Rather to be in readiness, with hand
 Or counsel to assist ; lest I, who erst 145
 Thought none my equal, now be over-match'd.

So spake the old Serpent, doubting ; and from
 all

With clamour was assured their utmost aid
 At his command : when from amidst them rose
 Belial, the dissoluteſt Spirit that fell, 150
 The sensualleſt, and, after Asmodai,
 The fleſhlieſt Incubus ; and thus advis'd.

and were purposely designed as such by the poet.—The three lines above cited seem however secure from every possibility of disapprobation. They are indeed so eminently beautiful, that they must strike every ear that is not quite devoid of feeling and of taste.—Mr. Thyer particularly notices the fine effect of the last line, and the dignity and significancy of the expression *amplitude of mind* ; which he also supposes might have been suggested by the following passage in Tully's *Tusc. Disput.* ii. 25. “Hoc igitur tibi propone, *amplitudinem et quasi quandam exaggerationem quam altissimam animi*, quæ maxime eminet contemnendis et despiciendis doloribus, unam esse omnium rem pulcherrimam.”

DUNSTER.

Heywood, in his *Funerall Elegie upon K. James I*, 1625, uses *amplitude* in Milton's sense :

“He that the Romans with the Greeks compar'd,
 “And punctually their *amplitudes* declar'd,
 “Of such as were in virtues antecelling ;
 “Their greatnesse and their goodnesse paralleling, &c.”

Ver. 150. *Belial, the dissoluteſt Spirit that fell,*
The sensualleſt, and, after Asmodai,
The fleſhlieſt Incubus ;] I have heard these three

Set women in his eye, and in his walk,
Among daughters of men the fairest found :

lines objected to as harsh and inharmonious, but in my opinion the very objection points out a remarkable beauty in them. It is true they do not run very smoothly off the tongue, but then they are with much better judgement so contrived, that the reader is obliged to lay a particular emphasis, and to dwell for some time upon the word in each verse, which most strongly expresses the character described, viz. *diffident*, *conquallent*, *self-lieft*. This has a very good effect by impressing the idea more strongly upon the mind, and contributes even in some measure to encrease our aversion to the odious character of Belial, by giving an air of detestation to the very tone of voice with which these verses must necessarily be read. THYER.

Ver. 151. ————— after *Aymolai*,

The self-lieft Incubus ; } The character of Belial in the *Paradise Lost*, and the part he sustains there, sufficiently show how properly he is introduced upon the present occasion. He is here said to be the *self-lieft Incubus* after *Aymolai* ; or *Aymolai*, as it is written, *Paradise Lost*, B. vi. 355 ; or *Aymolai*, B. iv. 168, the lustful Angel who loved Sarah the daughter of Raguel, and destroyed her seven husbands, as we read in the book of Tobit. NEWTON.

Ver. 153. *Set women in his eye, &c.*] As this temptation is not mentioned in the Gospels, it could not with any propriety have been proposed to our Saviour ; it is much more fitly made the subject of debate among the wicked Spirits themselves. All that can be said in praise of the power of beauty, and all that can be alleged to depreciate it, is here summed up with greater force and elegance, than I ever remember to have seen in any other author. NEWTON.

This speech of Belial finely exemplifies what is said of him, *Paradise Lost*, B. ii. 112.

————— “ his tongue
“ Dropt manna,” DUNSTER.

Many are in each region passing fair 155
 As the noon sky; more like to Goddeffes
 Than mortal creatures, graceful and discreet,
 Expert in amorous arts, enchanting tongues
 Persuasive, virgin majesty with mild
 And sweet allay'd, yet terrible to approach, 160
 Skill'd to retire, and, in retiring, draw
 Hearts after them tangled in amorous nets.

Ver. 155. ——— *passing fair*] Thus Romeo,
 in commendation of his mistress, when Benvolio charges him
 with being in love, *Rom. and Jul. A. i. S. ii.*

“Show me a mistress that is *passing fair*,” &c.

NEWTON.

Ver. 159. ——— *virgin majesty with mild
 And sweet allay'd, yet terrible to approach,*] Possibly
 suggested by Claudian, *Conf. Prob. et Ol. 91.*

“*Miscetur decori virtus, pulchæque severo*

“*Armatæ terrore pudor.*”

Thus also *Par. Lost*, B. ix. 489.

——— “divinely fair, fit love for Gods,

“Not terrible, *though terror be in love*

“*And beauty, not approach'd by stronger hate.*”

DUNSTER.

Ver. 161. *Skill'd to retire, and, in retiring, draw
 Hearts after them*] In the same manner Milton,
 in his description of Eve, *Paradise Lost*, B. viii. 504.

“Not obvious, not obtrusive, but *retu'd*,

“*The more desirable.*” THYER.

Ver. 162. ——— *tangled in amorous nets.*] Milton,
 in his first *Elgy*, ver. 60, speaks of the

“*Aurea quæ fallax retia tendit amor.*”

And *Paradise Lost*, B. xi. 585.

Such object hath the power to soften and tame
Severest temper, smooth the rugged'st brow,

"The men, though grave, ey'd them, and let their eyes

"Rove without rein, 'till *in the amorous net*

"*Fall caught* they lik'd; and each his liking chose."

Thus also Spenser, *Sonnet xxxvii.*

"Is it that men's frail eyes, which are too bold

"She may *entangle* in that golden snare,

"And being caught *may craftily enfold*

"*Their weaker hearts*, which are not well aware?

"Take care therefore, mine eyes, how ye do stare

"Henceforth too rashly on *that gulfy net*,

"In which if ever ye entrapp'd are,

"Out of her hands ye by no means shall get."

And Shakspeare, *Henry VIII.* A. iii. S. ii.

———— "I do, quoth he, perceive

"My King is *tangled* in affections to

"A creature of the Queen's, Lady Ann Bullen."

DUNSTER.

I may add part of Greene's Roundelay, in his *Never too late*,
1616, pt. i. s. bl. l.

———— "to gaze upon the gorgeous sight,

"That *Babe*, pompous in her highest prime,

"Presents to *tangle* men with sweete delight."

But Milton's phrase, the *amorous net*, is from Ariosto. See note
on *Par. Lost*. B. xi. 582. And here also the Italian poetry was
in Milton's mind: Tasso, *Gier. Lib.* c. iv. st. 87.

"Vfogn' arte la Donna, onde fia *colto*

"*No la fue rete* alcun nouello amante; &c."

Ver. 164. ———— *smooth the rugged'st brow*,] Thus
in the *Perseus*, 53.

—— " *Smoothing the rugged brow* of Night."

And in the opening of Shakspeare's *Richard III.*

"Grim-visag'd war hath *smooth'd his wrinkled front*."

DUNSTER.

Enerve, and with voluptuous hope dissolve, 165
 Draw out with credulous desire, and lead
 At will the manliest, resoluteſt breſt,
 As the magnetick hardeſt iron draws.

Ver. 166. *Draw out with credulous deſire,*] This beautiful expreſſion was formed partly upon Horace's, *Od.* IV. i. 30.

—— “*ſpes animi credula nutui.*”

And partly, as Mr. Thyer thinks, from a paſſage in the *Andria* of Terence, *A.* iv. S. i.

—— “*non tibi fatiſ eſſe hoc viſum ſolidum eſt gaudium,*

“*Niſi me lactaſſes amantem, et falſa ſpe produceres?*”

NEWTON.

Credulous might have been ſuggeſted by an Ode of Horace, which Milton himſelf has tranſlated.

“*Qui nunc te fruitur credulus aurâ,*

“*Qui ſemper vacuam, &c.*” DUNSTER.

Ver. 168. *As the magnetick*] It ſhould be the *magnet*, or *magnetick ſtone*. But Milton often converts the adjective, and uſes it as the ſubſtantive. NEWTON.

Ibid. *As the magnetick hardeſt iron draws.*] Lucian hath this ſimile in his *Imagines*, vol. ii. p. 2. Ed. Grav. “But if the fair one once look upon you, what is it that can get you from her? She will draw you after her at pleaſure, bound hand and foot, *juſt as the loadſtone draws iron.*” We may obſerve that Milton, by reſtraining the compariſon to the power of beauty over the wiſeſt men and the moſt ſtoical tempers, hath given it a propriety which is loſt in a more general application. CALTON.

Thus Claudian, in his *Idyllum* on the Magnet,

—— “*Venerem magnetica gemma figurat.*”

Having very poetically deſcribed the powers of the Magnet, he concludes his little Poem in a manner that poſſibly might have ſuggeſted to Milton ſome of the preceding lines.

—— “*Quæ duras jungit concordia mentes?*

“*Flagrat anhela ſilêx, et amicam faucia ſentit*

Women, when nothing else, beguil'd the heart
Of wisest Solomon, and made him build, 170
And made him bow, to the Gods of his wives.

To whom quick answer Satan thus return'd.
Belial, in much uneven scale thou weigh'st
All others by thyself; because of old 174
Thou thyself doat'st on womankind, admiring
Their shape, their colour, and attractive grace,

" Materiem, placidusque Chalybs cognoscit amores,

" Sic Venus horrificum belli compescere regem,

" Et cultu molliore solet, cum sanguine praecepit

" Æstuat, et strictis mucronibus asperat iras.

" Sola feris occurrit equis, solvitque tumorem

" Pectoris, et blando praeordia temperat igni.

" Pax animo tranquilla datur, pugnasque calentes

" Deserit, et rutilas declinat in oscula cristas.

" Quæ tibi, sæve puer, non est permessa potestas?

" Tu magnum superas fulmen, &c." DUNSTER.

I am inclined to think that Milton had the poetry of his own country here in mind. See *The Tears of Love*, by Thomas Collins, 4to. 1615, p. 29. A lady is the speaker:

" For as the adamant doth diamonds drawe,

" Or little jeat extracts the longest strawe;

" Even so my beauty binds him to obey,

" To seek, to sue, and serve me every way."

Again, in the same poem, p. 38.

" Each shepherdesse enviéd my excellent parts,

" As the only adamant to attract mens hearts."

The same simile is applied by Helena, in love with Demetrius, *Mids. N. Dr.* A. ii. S. ii.

" You draw me, you hard-hearted adamant;

" But yet you draw not iron, &c."

Ver. 176. ————— and attractive grace,] So, in *Par. Lost*, B. ii. 762.

None are, thou think'st, but taken with such toys.
 Before the Flood thou with thy lusty crew,
 False titled sons of God, roaming the earth
 Cast wanton eyes on the daughters of men, 180
 And coupled with them, and begot a race.
 Have we not seen, or by relation heard,

“ I pleas'd, and with *attractive* graces won.”

Again, B. iv. 298.

“ For softness *sue* and sweet *attractive* grace.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 177. *None are, thou think'st, but taken with such toys.*
 The line would be clearer, if it ran thus :

“ None are, thou think'st, *taken but* with such toys.”

SYMPSON.

Ver. 178. *Before the Flood thou with thy lusty crew,
 False titled sons of Gods, roaming the earth
 Cast wanton eyes on the daughters of men,
 And coupled with them,]*

It is to be lamented that our author has so often adopted the vulgar notion of the Angels having commerce with women, founded upon that mistaken text of Scripture, *Gen. vi. 2.* “ *The sons of God saw the daughters of men, that they were fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose.*” See *Paradise Lost*, B. iii. 463, and ver. 447. But though he seems to favour that opinion, as we may suppose, to embellish his poetry, yet he shows elsewhere that he understood the text rightly, of the sons of Seth, who were the worshippers of the true God, intermarrying with the daughters of wicked Cain, *Par. Lost*, B. xi. 621.—625. NEWTON.

Ver. 182. *Have we not seen, or by relation heard,]* This passage is censured by Dr. Warburton, as suiting only the Poet speaking in his own person : but surely there is no impropriety in the Arch-Fiend's being well acquainted with the fables of the Heathen Mythology, and the amours and adventures of their Gods, or, (according to Milton's system,) his own infernal Compeers.—If we censure this passage, we must still more decisively

In courts and regal chambers how thou lurk'st,
 In wood or grove, by mossy fountain side,
 In valley or green meadow, to way-lay 185
 Some beauty rare, Calisto, Clymene,
 Daphne, or Semele, Antiopa,

condemn one in the fourth Book; where, in answer to Satan's speech, describing, while he shows it, the splendour of Imperial Rome, our Lord, taking up the subject, carries on the description to the luxurious way of living among the Romans of that time, with this verse in a parenthesis,

"For I have also *heard*, perhaps *have read*" DUNSTER,

Ver. 183. *In courts and regal chambers how thou lurk'st,*] Thus Milton, in his description of Belial, *Par. Lost*, B. i. 497.

"*In courts and palaces* he also reigns, &c." DUNSTER,

Ver. 184. *In wood or grove, by mossy fountain side,*
In valley or green meadow,] Thus, in Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream*, Puck, speaking of Oberon and Titania, says

"And now they never meet in *grove, or green,*

"*By fountain clear, or spangled star-light sheen,*"

Mossy fountain is from Virgil, *Ecl.* vii. 45.

"*Musesti fontes, et somno mollior herba,*"

Whence Pope, in his second *Pastoral*;

"The *mossy fountains*, and the green retreats!"

And again, in his *Messiah*;

"The *mossy fountains* and the sylvan shades."

DUNSTER,

Ver. 186. ————— *Calisto, Clymene,*

Daphne, or Semele, Antiopa,

Or Amymone, Syrinx,] All these mistresses of the

Gods might have been furnished from Ovid; who is said to have been our Author's favourite Latin Poet. Indeed that he was so at an early period of life, appears from Milton's frequent imitations of him, in his juvenile Latin Poems. DUNSTER,

Or Amymone, Syrinx, many more
Too long, then lay'th thy scapes on names ador'd,

Ver. 188. ————— *many more*

Too long,] A concise way of speaking for *many more too long to mention*. The author had used it before. *Paradise Lost*, B. iii. 473. Indeed more would have been *too long*, and it would have been better if he had not enumerated so many of the loves of the Gods. These things are known to every school-boy, but add no dignity to a divine poem: and in my opinion are not the most pleasing subjects in painting any more than in poetry.

NEWTON.

Poetry, as strictly discriminated from Prose, may be defined *elevated and ornamented language*. Among the most allowed modes of elevating and decorating language, independent of metrical arrangement, mythological references and allusions and classical imitations hold a principal place. A poet precluded from these would be miserably circumscribed, and might with equal or better effect relate the fable which he imagines, the historick facts which he records, or the precepts which he lays down, in that species of language which asks no ornaments but purity and perspicuity. A *divine* poem certainly requires to be written in the chastest style, and to be kept perfectly free from the glare of false ornament: but it must still be considered that the great reason of exhibiting any serious truths, and especially the more interesting facts of religious history, through the medium of poetry, is thereby more powerfully to attract the attention. Poetry, to please, must continue to be pleasing. In the beauty and propriety of his references and allusions, the Poet shews the perfection of his taste and judgement, as much as in any other circumstance whatever: and Milton has eminently distinguished himself in this respect. How beautifully has he sprinkled his *Paradise Lost* with the flowers of Classical Poetry, and the fictions of Greek and Roman Mythology! And he has done this with so judicious a hand, with a spirit so reverent, that the most religiously delicate ear can not but be captivated with it.—I confess my surprize that Dr. Newton does not see the passage before us in this light. It appears to me not only in the highest degree justifiable, but ab-



Apollo, Neptune, Jupiter, or Pan,

190

absolutely as one of those *loci laudandi* which the best critics ever delight to exhibit from the works of the more eminent poets. Milton here admirably avails himself of the fabulous amours of the Heathen Deities. He transfers them to the fallen Angels, to Belial and "his lusty crew;" and, by the judicious application of these disgraceful tales, he gives them a propriety which they never before possessed. He furnishes even "the school-boy" with a moral to the fable which he has been reading, and recalls to maturer minds the classical beauty of these fabulous descriptions, which at once relieve and adorn his divine Poem.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 189. ————— *thy escapes*] This is a Gallicism. *Echappée* in French signifies a *prank* or *frolick*. Boyer explains it *l'action imprudente d'un jeune homme*. DUNSTER.

Escapes here mean *vicious frolicks*, or *acts of lewdness*; and the word is common in our own old poetry. Thus in *Tancred and Gyrmund*, 1592, A. iii. S. ii.

—————"the subtle *escapes* of men

"Hardned in shame, fear'd up in the desire

"Of their owne *lustes*."

Again in *The Tears of Love* by Thomas Collins, 4to. 1615, p. 13. Cupid is the speaker:

"Yea, I made Ioue to lay aside his shape,

"And (amongst mortalls) commit many a *scape*."

See also Shakspeare's *Winter's Tale*, A. iii. S. iii. "I am not bookish, yet I can read waiting-gentlewoman in the *scape*."

Ver. 190. *Apollo, Neptune, Jupiter, or Pan*,] *Caliste*, *Semeli*, and *Antiope*, were mistresses to Jupiter; *Clymene* and *Daphne* to *Apollo*; and *Syrinx* to *Pan*. Both here and elsewhere, Milton considers the Gods of the Heathens as Demons or Devils. Thus, in the Septuagint version of the Psalms; Πάντες οἱ θεοὶ τῶν ἠθῶν δαίμονια. *Psalms* xcvi. 5. (and likewise in the Vulgate Latin, *Quoniam omnes Dii gentium demonia*). And the notion of the Demons having commerce with women in the

Satyr, or Faun, or Sylvan? But these haunts
 Delight not all; among the sons of men,
 How many have with a finile made small ac-
 count
 Of Beauty and her lures, easily scorn'd
 All her assaults, on worthier things intent! 195
 Remember that Pellean conquerour,

shape of the Heathen Gods is very ancient, and is expressly
 asserted by Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. p. 10. and 33. edit. Thirlbii.
 NEWTON.

Ver. 191. ————— *But these haunts*
Delight not all;] Virgil, *Ecl.* iv. 2.

“ *Non omnes arbuta juvant.* ” DUNSTER.

Ver. 196. *Remember that Pellean conquerour,*] Alexander
 the Great was born at *Pella* in Macedonia: his continence and
 clemency to Darius's queen, and daughters, and the other Persian
 ladies whom he took captive after the battle of Issus, are com-
 mended by the historians. “ *Tum quidem ita se gessit, ut*
omnes ante eum reges et continentia et clementia vincerentur.
Virgines enim regias excellentis formæ tam sancte habuit, quam
si eodem quo ipse parente genitæ forent: conjugem ejusdem,
quam nulla ætatis suæ pulchritudine corporis vicit, adeo ipse non
violavit, ut summam adhibuerit curam, ne quis captivo corpori
illuderet, &c.” *Quint. Curt.* lib. iii. cap. 9. He was then a
 young conquerour, of about twenty-three years of age, *a youth*,
 as Milton expresses it. NEWTON.

Ibid. ————— *that Pellean conquerour,*
A youth,] Juvenal, *Sat.* x. 168.

“ *Unus Pellææ juveni non sufficit orbis.* ” DUNSTER.

So Henry More, in his *Song of the Soul*, part the third, ed.
 1642, p. 32.

“ Where's Nimrod now, and dreadful Hannibal?

“ Where's that ambitious pert Pellean lad?”

A youth, how all the beauties of the East
 He slightly view'd, and slightly overpafs'd;
 How he, furnam'd of Africa, difmifs'd,
 In his prime youth, the fair Iberian maid. 200
 For Solomon, he liv'd at ease, and full
 Of honour, wealth, high fare, aim'd not beyond
 Higher design than to enjoy his state;
 Thence to the bait of women lay expos'd:
 But he, whom we attempt, is wiser far 205
 Than Solomon, of more exalted mind,
 Made and set wholly on the accomplishment
 Of greatest things. What woman will you find,
 Though of this age the wonder and the fame,
 On whom his leisure will vouchsafe an eye 210
 Of fond desire? Or should she, confident,

Ver. 197. ——— *How all the beauties of the East
 He slightly view'd, and slightly overpafs'd.*] Alexander, we know from history, did *not* “slightly overpass all the beauties of the East.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 199. *How he, furnam'd of Africa, difmifs'd,
 In his prime youth, the fair Iberian maid.*] The continence of Scipio Africanus at the age of twenty-four, and his generosity in restoring a beautiful Spanish lady to her husband and friends, are celebrated by Polybius, Livy, Valerius Maximus, and various other authors. NEWTON.

Ver. 204. *Thence to the bait of women lay expos'd:*] So Spenser, *Faer. Qu. v. viii. 1.*

——— “Beauty’s lovely bait.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 210. *On whom his leisure will vouchsafe an eye
 Of fond desire?*] This *eye of fond desire* is very beautifully expressed by Æschylus, whom our author perhaps had in view. *Suppl. ver. 1011.*

As fitting queen ador'd on Beauty's throne,
 Descend with all her winning charms begirt
 To enamour, as the zone of Venus once
 Wrought that effect on Jove, so fables tell; 215

Καὶ παρθένων χλιδαῖσιν εὐμόρφοις ἐπι
 Πῶς τις παρθένων ἑμματος δελκίηριον
 Τόξεν· ἐπιμύσει, ἡμέρην κλέμνει. THYER.

The *eye of fond desire* was perhaps suggested by an old Dialogue Poem, written by the Earl of Oxford in Queen Elizabeth's time, and printed in the second volume of bishop Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, p. 178. It is there entitled FANCY AND DESIRE. *Fancy* is the questioner, and *Desire* the respondent.

"F. Come hither shepherd swayne!

"D. Sir what do you require?

"F. I pray thee, shew to me thy name.

"D. My name is *Fond Desire*."

And, in a following stanza;

"F. What thing doth please thee most?

"D. *To gaze on beauty still*." DUNSTER.

Ver. 211. ———— Or should she, confident,

As fitting queen ador'd on Beauty's throne,

Descend with all her winning charms begirt

To enamour,] This is clearly from the same *pal-*

lette and pencil as the following highly coloured passage, *Par.* 17th, B. viii. 59.

"With Goddess-like demeanour forth she went,

"Not unattended, for on her as Queen

"A pomp of swining Graces waited still,

"And from about her shot darts of desire

"Into all eyes to with her still in fight." DUNSTER.

Ver. 215. ———— so fables tell;] The words *so fables tell* look as if the Poet had forgot himself, and spoke in his own person rather than in the character of Satan.

NEWTON.

How would one look from his majestick brow,
Seated as on the top of Virtue's hill,

Giles Fletcher, in his *Christ's Triumph on Earth*, where he describes the Garden of *Pangloss*, and represents the victims of her power as held in captivity by her, and changed to beasts, thus refers to the fable of *Circe* in Homer's *Odyssey*;

"Once men they liv'd, but now the men were dead
"And turn'd to beasts; so fabled Homer old
"That *Circe*, with her potion charm'd in gold,
"Us'd manly souls in beastly bodies to innould."

DUNSTER.

Ver. 216. ———— our *look* from his majestick brow,

Seated as on the top of Virtue's hill,] Here is the construction that we often meet with in Milton: from his majestick brow, that is, from the majestick brow of him seated as on the top of Virtue's hill: and the expression of *Virtue's hill* was probably in allusion to the rocky eminence on which the Virtues are placed in the Table of *Cebes*, or the arduous ascent up the hill to which Virtue is represented pointing in the best designs of the *judgment of Hercules*. NEWTON.

Milton's meaning here is best illustrated by a passage in *Shakespeare*; which most probably he had in his mind. *Hamlet*, in the scene with his mother, pointing to the picture of his father, says,

"See what a *grace* was seated in that brow!
"Hyperion's curls, the *front* of Jove himself;
"An eye, like Mars to threaten or command, &c."

Thus also, in *Love's Labour's Lost*, A. iii. S. iv.

"What peremptory eagle-eyed eye
"Dares look upon the *heaven* of her brow,
"That is not blinded by her majesty?"

"Greatness, nobleness, authority, and awe," says Bentley, "are by all Greek and Latin poets placed in the *forehead*." So, *Par. Lost*, B. ix. 537, Satan to Eve,

————— "nor have fear'd
"Thy *awful brow*, more awful thus retir'd."

Discountenance her despis'd, and put to rout
 All her array ; her female pride deject,
 Or turn to reverent awe ! for Beauty stands 220
 In the admiration only of weak minds
 Led captive ; cease to admire, and all her plumes
 Fall flat, and shrink into a trivial toy,
 At every sudden slighting quite abash'd.

And, B. vii. 509.

————— “ and upright *with front serene*

“ *Govern the rest.*”

And Spenser's Belphebe,

“ Her ivory *forehead full of bounty brave*

“ Like a broad table did itself dispread,

“ All *good and honour* might therein be read,

“ And there *their dwelling* was.” DUNSTER.

Perhaps we may here rather cite the coincident expression of
 G. Wither, in his *Fidelia*, 1622.

“ And *Vertue* (wherefocuer she be now)

“ Seem'd then to *sit enthron'd upon thy brow.*”

See also Browne's *Brit. Past.* 1616. B. i. S. iv.

“ Upon her *forehead*, as in glory, *sate*

“ Mercy and *Majesty.*”

Ver. 220. ————— *for Beauty stands*

In the admiration only of weak minds

Led captive ;] Among Milton's early Latin Ele-

gies we find one (the seventh) of the amatory kind. But when
 he published his Latin Poems, eighteen years afterwards, he
 thought it necessary to add to it ten lines apologising for the
 puerile weakness, or rather vacancy, of his mind, that could
 admit such an impression. DUNSTER.

Ver. 222. ————— *cease to admire, and all her plumes*

Fall flat, and shrink into a trivial toy,

At every sudden slighting quite abash'd.] This is

a very beautiful and apposite allusion to the peacock ; speaking
 of which bird, Pliny notices the circumstance of its spreading
 its tail under a sense of admiration ; “ *Gemmantes laudatus*

Therefore with manlier objects we must try 225
 His constancy ; with such as have more show
 Of worth, of honour, glory, and popular praise,
 Rocks, whereon greatest men have ofttest
 wreck'd ;

Or that which only seems to satisfy
 Lawful desires of nature, not beyond ; 230
 And now I know he hungers, where no food
 Is to be found, in the wide wilderness :
 The rest commit to me ; I shall let pass
 No advantage, and his strength as oft assay.

He ceas'd, and heard their grant in loud
 acclaim ; 235

expandit colores, adverso maxime sole, quia sic fulgentius radiant." *Nat. Hist.* L. x. C. 20. Tasso compares Armida, in all the pride and vanity of her beauty and ornaments, to a peacock with its tail spread, c. xvi. st. 24. But Milton had here in his mind Ovid, *De Arte Am.* i. 627.

" *Laudatas ostentat avis Junonia pennas ;*

" *Si tacitus spectes, illa recondit opes.*" DUNSTER.

Ver. 223 ————— *a trivial toy,*] So, in *Comus*, as Mr. Dunster notices,

" I came not here *on such a trivial toy*

" *As a stray'd ewe.*"

Ver. 228. ————— *have ofttest wreck'd ;*] We read according to Milton's own edition *oftest*, which is better than *often* in the others. NEWTON.

Ver. 232. ————— *the wide wilderness :*] In most of the editions, as doctor Newton observes, it is falsely printed " the *wild* wilderness." I must observe however, that what is written in Milton's manuscript of *Comus*, v. 403, " this *wide* surrounding waste," is, in the printed copies, " this *wild* surrounding waste." But the expression " *wide* wilderness" is also in *Par. Lost*, B. xii. 224.

Then forthwith to him takes a chosen band
 Of Spirits, likest to himself in guile,
 To be at hand, and at his beck appear,
 If cause were to unfold some active scene
 Of various persons, each to know his part: 240
 Then to the desert takes with these his flight;
 Where, still from shade to shade, the Son of God
 After forty days fasting had remain'd,
 Now hungering first, and to himself thus said.

Ver. 236. ——— *to him takes a chosen band*
Of Spirits, likest to himself in guile,] “Then
 goeth he and taketh with himself seven other spirits *more wicked*
than himself.” Matt. xii. 45. DUNSTER.

Ver. 244. *Now hungering first,*] There seems, I think, to
 be a little inaccuracy in this place. It is plain by the Scripture
 account, that our Saviour *hungered* before the Devil first tempted
 him by proposing to him his making stones into bread, and Mil-
 ton's own account in the first book is consistent with this: is
 there not therefore a seeming impropriety in saying that he *now*
first hungered, especially considering the time that must have
 necessarily elapsed during Satan's convening and consulting with
 his companions? THYER.

Milton comprises the principal action of the Poem in four
 successive days. This is the second day; in which no positive
 temptation occurs, for Satan *had left* Jesus (as was said, ver. 116
 of this Book) *vacant*, i. e. unassailed that day. Previous to
 the Tempter's appearing at all, it is said (B. i. 303.) that our
 blessed Lord had “passed full forty days” in the wilderness.
 All that is here meant is that he was not hungry till the forty
 days were ended; and accordingly our Saviour himself presently
 says that, during that time, he

————— “human food
 “Nor tasted, nor had appetite.”

Where will this end? four times ten days I've
 pass'd
 245
 Wandering this woody maze, and human food

As to the *true necessary* for convening the infernal council, there is the space of twenty-four hours taken for the Devil to go up to *the region of mid air*, where his council was sitting, and where we are told he went *with speed* (ver. 117 of this Book), and for him to debate the matter with his council, and return *with his chosen band of Spirits*: for it was the commencement of night, when he left our Saviour at the end of the first Book, and it is now "the hour of night," (ver. 200) when he is returned. But it must also be considered that spiritual beings are not supposed to require, for their *actions*, the *true necessary* to human ones; otherwise we might proceed to calculate the time requisite for the descent of Michael, or Raphael, to Paradise, and criticise the *Paradise Lost* accordingly. But Raphael, in the eighth Book of that Poem, says to Adam, inquiring concerning celestial motions,

"The swiftness of those circles attribute,
 "Though numberless, to his Omnipotence,
 "That to corporeal substances could add
 "*Speed almost spiritual*; nor thou think'st not slow,
 "Who since the morning hour set out from Heaven
 "Where God resides, and ere mid day arriv'd
 "In Eden, distance inexpressible
 "By numbers that have name."

We are also expressly told by St. Luke, when the Devil took our Lord up into a high mountain, that "he showed unto him all the kingdoms of the world *in a moment of time*," Luke, iv. 5.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 246. ——— *this woody maze*,] So, in *Comus*, v. 181.

"In the blind *mazes of this tangled wood*," DUNSTER.

Thomson has inverted Milton's expression, in his *Spring*, v. 794.

———"or through the *mazy wood*

"Dejected wanders."

Nor tasted, nor had appetite ; that fast
 To virtue I impute not, or count part
 Of what I suffer here ; if nature need not,
 Or God support nature without repast 250
 Though needing, what praise is it to endure ?
 But now I feel I hunger, which declares
 Nature hath need of what she asks ; yet God
 Can satisfy that need some other way,
 Though hunger still remain : so it remain 255
 Without this body's wasting, I content me,
 And from the sting of famine fear no harm ;
 Nor mind it, fed with better thoughts, that feed
 Me hungering more to do my Father's will.

It was the hour of night, when thus the Son 260
 Commun'd in silent walk, then laid him down
 Under the hospitable covert nigh

Ver. 258. ——— *fed with better thoughts,*] See note on
Par. Lost, B. iii. 37.

Ver. 259. *Me hungering more to do my Father's will.*] In
 allusion to our Saviour's words, *John*, iv. 34. " *My meat is to
 do the will of him that sent me, and to finish his work.*"

NEWTON.

But with a reference also to, " Blessed are they which do
 hunger and thirst after righteousness," *Matt.* v. 6. DUNSTER.

Ver. 261. *Commun'd in silent walk, then laid him down*]
 Agreeable to what we find in the *Psalms*, iv. 4. " *Commune
 with your own heart upon your bed, and be still.*" NEWTON.

Ver. 262. ——— *the hospitable covert nigh*
Of trees thick interwoven;] Thus *Horace*, *Od.*
 II. iii. 9.

" *Qua pinus ingens albæque populus*
 " *Umbra hospitalem consociare amant*
 " *Ramii.*"

Of trees thick interwoven; there he slept,
 And dream'd, as appetite is wont to dream, 264
 Of meats and drinks, nature's refreshment sweet:
 Him thought, he by the brook of Cherith stood,
 And saw the ravens with their horny beaks

And Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 24;

“Obviâque *hospitis* teneat *frondentibus* arbos.”

Milton also, in *Cornus*, v. 186;

—————“such cooling fruit

“As the kind *hospitable* woods provide.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 263. *Of trees thick interwoven*:] See note on *Cornus*, v. 544.

Ver. 266. *Him thought*,] We say now, and more justly, *he thought*; but *him thought* is of the same construction as *me thought*, and is used by our old writers, as by Fairfax, c. 13. st. 40.

“*Him thought* he heard the softly whistling wind.”

NEWTON.

Ibid. ————— *he by the brook of Cherith stood*, &c.} Alluding to the account of Elijah, 1 *Kings*, xvii. 5, 6. and xix. 4. And Daniel's living upon *pulse and water*, rather than the portion of the king's meat and drink, is celebrated, *Dan.* i. So that, as our dreams are often composed of the matter of our waking thoughts, our Saviour is with great propriety supposed to dream of sacred persons and subjects. *Lucretius*, iv. 960.

“Et quoi quisque serè studio devinctus adheret,

“Aut quibus in rebus multum sumus ante morati,

“Atque in qua ratione fuit contenta magis mens,

“In somnis eadem plerùmque videmur obire.”

NEWTON.

Ver. 267. ————— *with their horny beaks*] Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, L. i. c. 36, speaking of storks, describes them “aves excelsæ, cruribus rigidis, *corneo procerisque rostro*.”

DUNSTER.

Food to Elijah bringing, even and morn,
Though ravenous, taught to abstain from what
they brought :

He saw the Prophet also, how he fled 270

Into the desert, and how there he slept

Under a juniper ; then how awak'd

He found his supper on the coals prepar'd,

And by the Angel was bid rise and eat,

And eat the second time after repose, 275

The strength whercof suffic'd him forty days :

Sometimes that with Elijah he partook,

Or as a guest with Daniel at his pulse.

Thus wore out night ; and now the herald lark

Left his ground-nest, high towering to descry 280

The Morn's approach, and greet her with his
song :

Ver. 278. *Or as a guest*] Mr. Symphon propos'd to read,
" Or *was* a guest."

Ver. 279. ————— *the herald lark*] The lark
is called by Shakspeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, A. iii. S. v.

—————" *the herald of the morn.*" NEWTON.

And by Browne, as Mr. Dunster also observes in his *Brit.
Pastorals*, 1616, B. i. S. iii.

" The mounting lark, day's *herald*, got on wing."

Ver. 280. ————— *to descry*

The Morn's approach, and greet her with his song :]

This is a beautiful thought which modern wit hath added to the
stock of antiquity. We may see it rising, though out of a low
hint of Theocritus, like the bird from his *thatch'd pallet*.
Idyll. x. 50.

"Αρχισθαι δ' ἁμῶντας ἐγειρομένῃ κορυθαλλῇ.

As lightly from his graffy couch up rose

Chaucer leads the way to the English poets, in four of the finest lines in all his works, *Knight's Tale*, 1493.

"The merry lark, messengere of the day,
 "Salewith in her song the mornyn gray,
 "And firy Phebus risith up so bright,
 "That all the Orient laugheth at the sight."

In the same manner Spenser, *Faery Queen*, i. xi. 51.

———"when Una did her mark
 "Climb to her chariot all with flowers spread,
 "From Heaven high to chafe the cheerless dark;
 "With merry notes her loud salutes the mounting lark."

CALTON.

Thus, in *Comus*, the early hour of morning is marked by the lark's rousing from its thatch'd pallat, ver. 315.

"And if your stray attendance be yet lodg'd,
 "Or shroud within these limits, I shall know
 "Ere morrow wake, or the brow-raised lark
 "From his thatch'd pallat rouse."

And the lark "high-towering and greeting the morn with her song," is thus beautifully described in P. Fletcher's *Purp. Island*, c. ix. st. 2.

"The cheerful lark, mounting from early bed,
 "With sweet salutes awakes the drowsy light;
 "The earth she left, and up to heaven is fled;
 "There chants her Maker's praises out of sight."

DUNSTER.

Ver. 282. ——— from his graffy couch] So, in *Par. Lost*, B. iv. 600.

———"for beast and bird,
 "They to their graffy couch, thence to their nests
 "Were slunk." THYER.

Milton might perhaps remember Lucretius's expression, "*Herbæ cubile præbebat*," lib. v.

Our Saviour, and found all was but a dream ;
 Fast'ning he went to sleep, and fast'ning wak'd.
 Up to a hill anon his steps he rear'd, 285
 From whose high top to ken the prospect round,
 If cottage were in view, sheep-cote, or herd ;
 But cottage, herd, or sheep-cote, none he saw ;
 Only in a bottom saw a pleasant grove,

Ver. 283. ——— and found all was but a dream ;] *Par.*
Lost, B. v. 92.

———“ but, O! how glad I wak'd
 “ To find this but a dream !” DUNSTER.

Ver. 287. *If cottage were in view, sheep-cote, or herd ;*
But cottage, herd, or sheep-cote, none he saw ;]
 This mode of repetition our poet is fond of, and has frequently
 used with singular effect. See *Comus*, v. 221, &c.

Thus also, in *Paradise Lost*, B. iv. 640, a delightful descrip-
 tion of morning, evening, and night, is beautifully recapitulated.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 289. *Only in a bottom saw a pleasant grove, &c.]* The
 Tempter here is the *Magician* of the Italian poets. This
 “ pleasant grove” is a magical creation in the desert, designed
 as a *scene* suited for the ensuing temptation of the Banquet.
 Thus Tasso lays the scene of the sumptuous banquet, which
 Armida provides for her lovers, amidst

“ High trees, sweet meadows, waters pure and good—

“ Under the curtain of the greenwood shade,

“ Beside the brook, upon the velvet grass.”

Fairfax's Tasso, c. x. 63, 64.

The whole of Milton's description here is very beautiful ; and
 I rather wonder that the noble author of the *Anecdotes of Paint-*
ing did not subjoin it to his citations, from the *Paradise Lost*,
 in his *Observations on Modern Gardening*. He there ascribes to
 our author the having foreseen, “ with the prophetick eye of
 taste,” our modern style of gardening. It may however be

With chant of tuneful birds resounding loud: 290

questioned, whether his idea of a garden was much, if at all, elevated above that of his contemporaries. In the *Comus*, speaking of the gardens of the Hesperides, he describes *cedarn alleys*, and *crisp'd shades and bowers*; and in his *Penferoso*, "retired leisure" is made to please itself in *trim gardens*. Mr. Warton, in a note on the latter passage, observes that Milton had changed his ideas of a garden when he wrote his *Paradise Lost*. But the *Paradise* which he there describes is not a *Garden*, either ancient or modern. It is in fact a *Country* in its natural, unornamented state, only rendered beautiful, and, (which is more essential to happiness in a hot climate,) at all times perfectly habitable from its abundance of pleasingly-disposed shade and water, and its consequent verdure and fertility. From all such poetical delineations, as from Nature herself, the *Landscape Gardener* may certainly enrich his fancy, and cultivate his taste. The poet in the mean time contributes to the perfection of *Art*, not by laying down rules for it, but by his exquisite descriptions of the more beautiful scenes of *Nature*, which it is the office of *Art* to imitate and to represent. One merit of our modern art of laying out ground, independent of the beauty of its scenery, is its being peculiarly adapted to the circumstances of our climate. A modern English pleasure-ground would not be considered as a *Paradise* on the sultry plains of Assyria, if it could be formed, or exist there: accordingly another mode of gardening has always prevailed in hot countries, which, though it would be the height of absurdity to adopt it in our own island, may be well defended in its proper place by the best of all pleas, necessity. The reader may see this question fully discussed, with great taste and judgment, by my learned friend Dr. Falconer, in his *Historical View of the Taste for Gardening and laying out Grounds, among the Nations of Antiquity*. DUNSTER.

Ver. 290. *With chant of tuneful birds resounding loud*;] Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 328, has

"*Avia tum resonant avibus virgulta canoris.*"

Spenser seldom fails to adorn his groves and gardens with singing birds, as in *Faer. Qu.* ii. v. 31.

Thither he bent his way, determin'd there
To rest at noon, and enter'd soon the shade
High-roof'd, and walks beneath, and alleys
brown,

" And on the other side a pleasant grove—

" Therein the merry birds, of every sort,

" Chanted aloud their cheerful harmony."

See also, ii. vi. 12, 13. DUNSTER.

Ver. 291. ————— determin'd there

To rest at noon,] The custom of retiring to the shade and reposing, in hot countries, during the extreme heat of the middle part of the day, is frequently alluded to by Milton in his *Paradise Lost*. See B. iv. 627, B. v. 230, and 300, and B. ix. 401. DUNSTER.

Ver. 292. ————— the shade

High-roof'd, and walks beneath, and alleys brown,]

See Mr. Warton's note on *Il Penseroso*, v. 133.

Ver. 293. *High-roof'd, and walks beneath, and alleys brown,*]

Such are also the arched over-shading groves of Spenser, with their walks, alleys, and arbours, *Faer. Qu.* i. i. 7.

" A shady grove not far away they spied, &c.

" And all within were paths and allies wide."

See also iv. x. 25.

" And all without were walks and allies dight,

" With divers trees enrang'd in even ranks :

" And here and there were pleasant arbours pight,

" And shady seats and sundry flowering banks."

High-roof'd reminds us of some of Milton's descriptions in the *Paradise Lost*, as in B. ix. 1037.

—————" a shady bank

" Thick overhead with verdant roof imbow'ner'd."

And, speaking of Adam's bower, he says, B. iv. 692,

————— the roof

" Of thickest covert was inwoven shade,

" Laurel and myrtle, &c."

That open'd in the midst a woody scene; 294
Nature's own work it seem'd, Nature taught Art,

Again, in reference to the bower, ver. 772.

“ And on their naked limbs the *flowery roof*

“ Shower'd roses.”

Thus also he brings our first parents out to “ their morning orisons,”

——“ from under *shady arbores roof*,” B. v. 137.

The deep shade, produced by great masses of wood, is a favourite object of our poet's description. The epithet *brown* that he applies to it, (as here “ allies *brown*,”) he borrowed from the Italian poets; as has been justly observed by Mr. Thyer. See his notes on *Paradise Lost*, B. iv. 246, and B. ix. 1086.

In the following passage in the *Tempest*, A. iv. S. i.

——“ thy *broom groves*,

“ Whose shadow the dismissed bachelor loves,”

Sir Thomas Hanmer inclines to read, and it seems justly, “ *brown groves*.” DUNSTER.

The true reading, in the *Tempest*, is “ *broom groves*.” See Mr. Steevens's curious note, Shakspeare, vol. iii. p. xxxvii. edit. 1793.

Ver. 294. *That open'd in the midst a woody scene;*

Nature's own work it seem'd,] Here is some resemblance of Homer's description of the Bower of Calypso, *Odys.* v. 63—73.

Ἦλη δὲ σπιος ἀμφιπιφύκει τηλιθύωσα,

Κλύθρη τ' αἶγιός τε, καὶ εὐώδης κυπάρισσος,

——— ἴθα κ' ἵππιτα καὶ ἀθάνατός περ ἱπιθῶν

Θύσσαιτο ἰδαν, καὶ τεπνθίη φρεσὶν ἔσιν.

It may be observed, that “ a various sylvan scene” was possibly suggested by Milton's “ happy rural seat of various view,” Par. Lost, B. iv. 246. DUNSTER.

Ver. 295. *Nature's own work it seem'd, Nature taught Art,*] Thus Spenser in his description of the Gardens of Acrasia, *Faer. Qu.* ii. xii. 58.

And, to a superstitious eye, the haunt
Of Wood-Gods and Wood-Nymphs: he view'd
it round.

" And that, which all fair works doth most aggrace,
" The Art, which all that wrought, appeared in no place.

59.

" One would have thought, (so cunningly the rude
" And scorned parts were mingled with the fine,)
" That Nature had for wantonness ensued
" Art, and that Art at Nature did repine;
" So, striving each the other to undermine,
" Each did the other's work more beautify; &c."

But here he is not a little indebted to his predecessor Taffo, in his description of the Garden of Armida, *Gier. Lib. c. xvi. ft. ix.*

" Fior vari, e varie piante, erbi diverse,
" Apriche collinette, ombrose valli,
" Selve e spelonche in una vista offerse:
" E quel che il bello, e il caro accresce all' opre
" L'arte, che tutto fa, nulla si scopre.

x.

" Stimi (si misto il culto è col negletto)
" Sol naturali e gli ornamenti, e i fiti.
" Di natura arte par, che per diletto
" L'imitatrice sua scherzando imiti." DUNSTER.

Ver. 296. *And, to a superstitious eye, the haunt
Of Wood-Gods and Wood-Nymphs:]* Thus Lucretius, speaking of places remarkable for their echo, lib. iv. 584.

" *Hæc loca capripedes Satyros Nymphásque tenere*
" *Finitimi fingunt.*"

Haunt is a favourite word with Milton, in similar descriptions in the *Paradise Lost*, B. iii. 26.

—————" yet not the more
" Cease I to wander, where the Muses *haunt*
" Clear spring, or shady grove, or sunny hill."

When suddenly a man before him stood;
 Not rustick as before, but seemlier clad,
 As one in city, or court, or palace bred, 300
 And with fair speech these words to him ad-
 drefs'd.

Again, B. iv. 705.

————— "in shadier bower,
 " More sacred and sequester'd, though but feign'd,
 " Pan or Sylvanus never slept, nor Nymph
 " Nor Faunus *haunted*." DUNSTER.

Drummond thus begins one of his *Sonnets*, edit. Edinb. 1616.

"*Nymphes*, Sister-Nymphes, which *haunt* this cristall brooke."

And so Sidney, in the *Arcadia*:

"Ye *Nymphs* that *haunt* the springs in pleasant vallies."

See also my note on *Par. Lost*, B. iii. 27. It is probable that Milton might here also remember Niccols's description of the *Bower of Bliss*, as well as Homer's *Bower of Calypso*. See the *Cuckoo*, 1607, p. 6.

"There many blisful bowers they did behold—
 "There many Nymphes of more than heavenly hew
 "Had their abode."

Ver. 299. *Not rustick as before, but seemlier clad,*] The Tempter is very properly made to change his appearance and habit with the temptation. In the former book, when he came to tempt our Saviour to turn the stones into bread to satisfy their hunger, he appeared as a poor old man *in rural weeds*; but now, when he comes to offer a magnificent entertainment, he is *seemlier clad*, and appears as a wealthy citizen or a courtier: and here *with fair speech* he addresses his words, there it was only *with words thus utter'd spake*. These lesser particulars have a propriety in them, which is well worthy of the reader's observation. NEWTON.

With granted leave officious I return,
 But much more wonder that the Son of God
 In this wild solitude so long should bide,
 Of all things destitute; and, well I know, 305
 Not without hunger. Others of some note,
 As story tells, have trod this wilderneck;
 The fugitive bond-woman, with her son

Ver. 302. *With granted leave*] It is true that Satan at parting, in the conclusion of the former book, had asked leave to come again, but all the answer that our Saviour returned was

“Thy coming hither, though I know thy scope,

“I bid not or forbid; do as thou find’st

“Permission from above.”

But, as the Tempter must needs have been a most impudent being, it was perfectly in character to represent him as taking *permission* for *granted leave*. NEWTON.

The *granted leave* here, is “permission from above.” In answer to Satan’s request, (B. i. 492.)

—————“disdain not such access to me,”

our Saviour had said,

—————“do as thou find’st

“Permission from above.”

Satan therefore here introduces himself with a boast of *that permission* from HIM, who had before given up Job to be tempted by him, B. i. 368. Indeed our author makes the Deity, in his speech to Gabriel, say, speaking of our blessed Lord, B. i. 140.

—————“this Man, born and now up-grown,

“To show him worthy of his birth divine

“And high prediction, henceforth I expose

“To Satan; let him tempt and now assay

“His utmost subtlety.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 308. *The fugitive bond-woman, with her son*

Out-cast Nebaioth,] Hagar, who fled from the face of her mistress, Gen. xvi. 6, is therefore called a *fugitive*: her son was not a fugitive, but an *out-cast*; so exact was our

Native of Thebez, wandering here was fed
 Twice by a voice inviting him to eat :
 Of thee these forty days none hath regard, 315
 Forty and more deserted here indeed.

To whom thus Jesus. What conclud'ſt thou
 hence?

They all had need ; I, as thou ſeeſt, have none.

How haſt thou hunger then ? Satan replied.

Tell me, if food were now before thee ſet, 320

predilection for this eminent Prophet, to whoſe lot it fell to reſiſt the tyranny of wicked kings, and to denounce the judgments of God againſt them. In this part of his office he particularly manifeſted his undaunted ſpirit ; on which account he might be a favourite ſcripture-character with our author.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 313. *Native of Thebez,*] *Thebez* is the ſame as *Theſbe*, or *Thyſbe*, or *Tybbe*, the birth-place of the prophet Elijah.

NEWTON.

Ibid. ———— *wandering here was fed*] It appears that Milton conceived the wilderneſs, where Hagar wandered with her ſon, and where the Iſraelites were fed with manna, and where Elijah retreated from the rage of Jezebel, to be the ſame with the wilderneſs, where our Saviour was tempted. And yet it is certain, that they were very different places ; for the wilderneſs, where Hagar wandered, was *the wilderneſs of Beer-ſheba*, Gen. xxi. 14 ; and where the Iſraelites were fed with manna was *the wilderneſs of Sin*, Exod. xvi. 1 ; and where Elijah retreated was *in the wilderneſs, a day's journey from Beer-ſheba*, 1 Kings, xix. 4 ; and where our Saviour was tempted was *the wilderneſs near Jordan*. But our author conſiders all that tract of country as one and the ſame wilderneſs, though diſtinguiſhed by different names from the different places adjoining. NEWTON.

Would'st thou not eat?—Therewith as I like
 The giver, answer'd Jesus.—Why should that
 Cause thy refusal? said the subtle Fiend.
 Hast thou not right to all created things?
 Owe not all creatures by just right to thee 325
 Duty and service, nor to stay till bid,
 But tender all their power? Nor mention I
 Meats by the law unclean, or offer'd first

Ver. 321. *Would'st thou not eat? Therewith as I like
 The giver, answer'd Jesus.*] Thus, in *Comus*,
 when the Enchanter offers the cup to the Lady, and presses her to
 drink of it, she tells him,

“ Were it a draught for Juno when she banquets,
 “ I would not taste thy treasonous offer; none,
 “ But such as are good men, can give good things; &c.”

It may be observed, that our Lord does not positively refuse
 to take any food, but subjects his future decision to the quarter
 from which it should be offered to him. Accordingly, when the
 Temptation is concluded, he is refreshed with a banquet pre-
 sented by Angels; which is a contrast in every respect to the in-
 sidious one here described. DUNSTER.

Ver. 324. *Hast thou not right to all created things?
 Owe not all creatures by just right to thee
 Duty and service, &c. &c.*] This part of the
 Tempter's speech alludes to the heavenly declaration which he
 had heard at Jordan, *This is my beloved Son*, &c. One may ob-
 serve too, that it is much the same sort of flattering address with
 that which he had before made use of to seduce Eve, *Paradise
 Lost*, B. ix. 539;

“ Thee all things living gaze on, all things thine,
 “ By gift, &c.” THYER.

Ver. 326. ——— nor to stay] So it is in Milton's
 own edition. In most of the others it is, “ *not to stay.*”

To idols, those young Daniel could refuse ;
 Nor proffer'd by an enemy, though who 330
 Would scruple that, with want oppress'd? Behold,
 Nature asham'd, or, better to express,
 Troubled, that thou should'st hunger, hath pur-
 vey'd

From all the elements her choicest store,
 To treat thee, as befits, and as her Lord, 335
 With honour: only deign to sit and eat.

He spake no dream; for, as his words had end,
 Our Saviour lifting up his eyes beheld,
 In ample space under the broadest shade,
 A table richly spread, in regal mode, 340

Ver. 333. ————— *hath purvey'd*

From all the elements *her choicest store*,] The Latin Poets have similar passages, descriptive of that unbounded luxury, which ransacked all the elements to furnish out the requisite delicacies of their banquets. Thus *Juv. Sat. xi. 14.*

“ Interea gustus *elementa per omnia* quærun.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 337. *He spake no dream*;] This was no dream, as before ver. 264, but a reality. NEWTON.

Ver. 340. *A table richly spread*, &c.] This temptation is not recorded in Scripture, but is however invented with great consistency, and very aptly fitted to the present condition of our Saviour. This way of embellishing his subject is a privilege which every poet has a just right to, provided he observes harmony and decorum in his hero's character; and one may further add, that Milton had in this particular place still a stronger claim to an indulgence of this kind, since it was a pretty general opinion among the Fathers, that our Saviour underwent many more temptations than those which are mentioned by the Evangelists; nay, Origen goes so far as to say, that he was every day, whilst he continued in the wilderness, attacked by a fresh

With dishes pil'd, and meats of noblest sort
And favour; beasts of chase, or fowl of game,

one. The beauties of this description are too obvious to escape any reader of taste. It is copious, and yet expressed with a very elegant conciseness. Every proper circumstance is mentioned, and yet it is not at all clogged or incumbered, as is often the case, with too tedious a detail of particulars. It was a scene entirely fresh to our author's imagination, and nothing like it had before occurred in his *Paradise Lost*, for which reason he has been the more diffident, and laboured it with greater care, with the same good judgment that makes him in other places avoid expatiating on scenes which he had before described. In a word, it is in my opinion worked up with great art and beauty, and plainly shows the crudity of that notion which so much prevails among superficial readers, that Milton's genius was upon the decay when he wrote his *Paradise Regained*. THAYER.

The banquet, as Dr. Newton observes, is like that prepared by Amida for her lovers. Tasso, *Ger. Lib.* c. x. st. 64.

Temptations of this kind are indeed common in romances. In the third act of *The Wisdom of Dr. Dabryll*, 4to. 1600, there is also a similar scene. See my note on *Corrus*, v. 659.

Ver. 340. ——— *saftly spread, in regal mode*] *Regal mode* was probably intended to glance at the luxury and expense of the Court at that time: it is however well *excused* by classical authority. Virg. *Æn.* vi. 604.

————— — “*Epulæque ante ora paratæ*
“*Regis fies Læonæ.*”

And Sol. *Id.* xi. 272.

“*Instituunt de mære cupa, festamque per urbem*
“*Reversæ extractis celebrant convivia mæstis.*”

DUNSTER.

Ver. 342. ———— *beasts of chase*] So, in *Par. Lost*, B. iv. 341.

“*All beasts of the earth since wild, and of all chase*
“*In wood or wilderness.*” DUNSTER.

In pastry built, or from the spit, or boil'd,
 Gris-amber-steam'd ; all fish, from sea or shore,
 Freshet or purling brook, of shell or fin, 345
 And exquisitest name, for which was drain'd

Ver. 345. *In pastry built,*] The pastry in the beginning of the last century, was frequently of considerable magnitude and solidity. Of such kind must have been the pye in which Jeoffrey Hudson, afterwards King James's Dwarf, when eight years old, was served up to table at an entertainment given by the Duke of Buckingham. We may suppose this pye was not considerably larger than was usual on such occasions, otherwise the joke would have lost much of its effect from something extraordinary being expected. A species of *mural* pastry seems to have prevailed in some of the preceding centuries, when artificial representations of castles, towers, &c. were very common at all great feasts, and were called *futleties*, *subtilties*, or *festivities*.—Leland, in his account of the entertainment at the enthronization of Archbishop Warham in 1504, (*Collectanea*, vol. 6,) mentions “ a futlety of three stages, with vanes and towres embattled,” and “ a warner with eight towres embattled, and made with flowres ;” which possibly meant *made in pastry*.—In the catalogue of the expences at this feast, there is a charge for wax and sugar, *in operatione de le festivities*. Probably the wax and sugar were employed to render the paste of flour more adhesive and tenacious, the better to support itself when moulded into such a variety of forms. DUNSTER.

Ver. 344. *Gris-amber-steam'd ;*] See Mr. Warton's note on *Comus*, v. 863.

Ver. 345. *Freshet or purling brook.*] Freshet, *a stream of fresh water*. So Browne, in his *Brit. Pastorals*, 1616, B, ii, S. iii, of fish, who

“ Now love the *freshet*, and then love the sea,”

Ver. 346. *And exquisitest name,*] This alludes to that species of Roman luxury, which gave *exquisite names* to fish of exquisite taste, such as that they called *cerebrum Jovis*. They extended this even to a very capacious dish, as that they called *chelyum*

Pontus, and Lucrine bay, and Africk coast.
(Alas, how simple, to these cates compar'd,

Minerva. The modern Italians fall into the same wantonness of luxurious impiety, as when they call their exquisite wines by the names of *lacrymæ Christi* and *lac Virginis*. WARBURTON.

Ver. 346. ————— for which was drain'd

Pontus, and Lucrine bay, and Africk coast.] The fish are brought, to furnish this banquet from all the different parts of the world then known; from *Pontus*, or the Euxine Sea, in Asia; from the *Lucrine Bay*, in Italy; and from the *coast of Africa*; all which places are celebrated for different kinds of fish by the authors of antiquity. NEWTON.

Milton had here in his mind the excessive luxury of the Romans in the article of fish; in regard to which it is said by Juvenal that, having exhausted their own seas, they were obliged to be supplied from their distant provinces. See *Sat. v. 94*, &c.

In Tiberius's time, the *Scarus*, a favourite fish, was brought by one of their admirals in immense quantities, from the furthest part of the Mediterranean, in vessels so constructed as to convey them alive; on purpose to stock the sea all along the coast of Naples to the mouth of the Tiber. That they might increase abundantly, it was forbidden to take one for five years. Pliny, ix. 17. Macrobi. *Satura.* ii. 12. DUNSTER.

Ver. 347. *Pontus*,] Pliny observes how quickly all sorts of fish came to perfection in the *Pontus Euxinus*. "Piscium genus omne præcipua celeritate adolefcit, maxime in *Ponto*. Causa, multitudo annuum dulces inferentium aquas." L. ix. 15.

DUNSTER.

Ibid. ————— *Lucrine bay*,] Horace notices the shell-fish of the Lucrine Lake, *Epod. ii. 49*.

"Non me *Lucrina* juverint *cenchylia*;"

and particularly commends its muscles, *Sat. II. iv. 32*.

"Murice *Baiano* melior *Lucrina peloris*:"

Martial records the excellence of the Lucrine Oysters, *Lib. iii. Ep. ix. 3*.

Was that crude apple that diverted Eve !)
And at a stately side-board, by the wine 350

“ Ostrea tu fumis stagnis saturata Lucrino.”

These were so much in request that *Lucrina* alone is sometimes used by the last-mentioned poet to signify oysters. L. vi. *Ep.* xi. 5. & L. xii. *Ep.* xlviii. 4. DUNSTER.

347. ———— *Africk coast.*] Aulus Gellius, in his chapter on Roman Luxury, extracted from the Satire of M. Varro *περὶ ἰδισμάτων*, notices the Lamprey from the Straits of Gibraltar, *Murena Tartessia*. L. vii. 16.

It is related by Athenæus (B. i. p. 7.) that the celebrated Roman glutton Apicius, having been used to eat at Minternæ a sort of cray-fish, which exceeded the lobsters of Alexandria in bigness, when he was told there were some of these fish still larger, to be found on the *coast of Africa*, sailed thither immediately, in spite of a great many inconveniencies. The fishermen, who were apprized of the object of his voyage, met him with the largest they had taken; but as soon as he found they had none which exceeded those he had been used to eat at Minternæ, he sailed back instantly without going on shore. DUNSTER.

Ver. 349. ———— *that diverted Eve !*] *Diverted* is here used in the Latin signification of *diverto*, to turn aside.

NEWTON.

Diverted is, in this sense, of the old English school of Poetry. Thus in Niccols's *Cuckoo*, 1607, p. 10. Of the Lady of the Bower :

“ On which the heavens, still in a stedfast state,

“ Look’t alway blithe, *diverting* froward fate.”

And in Drayton's *Owl*, 1604.

“ Holla, thou wandring Infant of my brayne,

“ Whither thus slingst thou ; yet *divert* thy strayne ;

“ Returne we back &c.”

Ver. 350. *And at a stately side-board, &c.*] As the scene of this entertainment lay in the east, Milton has with great judgement thrown in this and the following particulars to give it an air of

That fragrant smell diffus'd, in order stood
Tall stripling youths rich clad, of fairer hue

eastern grandeur: as in that part of the world, it is well known, a great part of the pomp and splendour of their feasts consists in their having a great number of beautiful slaves of both sexes, to attend and divert the guests with musick and singing. **THYER.**

Ver. 350. ————— *wine*

That fragrant smell diffus'd,] Thus Homer, *Odys.*

lx. 210,

————— ὁ δὲ δ' ἐδῖα ἀπὸ κρητῆρος ὀδῶν
Οἰσισση.

And Ovid, *Fast.* iii. 301.

“Plenâque *Plauti* Dis ponit pocula *Bacchi*.”

The Ancients prized their wines according to their fragrance. *ὀσος ἀνθεσμίας* was the term of supreme commendation among the Greeks. In the *Plutus* of Aristophanes, among the advantages of being rich enumerated by *Calis* the servant, a principal one is

Οἶδ' ἀμφιγῆς *οἶνε* μάλας ἀνθεσμίας, ver. 807. *Ed. Brunck.*

In the *Female Orator* of the same Comick Poet, a female servant descants upon the superior fragrance of wine above that of the richest ointment; and, calling for a cup of wine, she particularly desires it may be *unmixed, and selected for its fragrance, as affording a gratification of the most durable kind*, ver. 1123.

Κίχρον ἄκραται, ἱεφαιῶτι τῆς νέχῃ ἔλπει,
Ἐνλεγμένη ὅτι ἀν' ἁλῆς ὁσμὴν ἔχει.

Thus *Læna*, a drunken old woman, in the *Ciculus* of *Plautus*,
A. i. S. ii.

“Flos veteris vini meis naribus obiectus est.

“Ejus amos cupidam me huc prolicit per tenebras.

“Ubi, ubi est? Prope me est. Evax habeo. Salve animi mi,

“Liberi lepos! Ut veteris vetusti cupida sum!

“Nam omnium ungentum odor præ tuo nautica est.

“Tu mihi fæste, tu cinnamomum, tu rosa,

“Tu crocinum et calia es, tu bdellium.”

Than Ganymed or Hylas ; distant more
Under the trees now tripp'd, now solemn stood,

And in a fragment of the old Comick Poet Hermippus, preserved by Athenæus, the praises of a wine named *Sapria* or *Saprian*, are celebrated as so highly fragrant, that *if the leaf put is given to the calf, an odour equal to that of violets, roses, and hyacinths, immediately rushes out*, L. i.

Ἐστὶ δὲ τις οἶνος ὃν δὴ Σαπρίαν καλέουσι,
Οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ σέματος σάμνων ἀνισχυομένη
Ὅξει ἰών, ὥξει δὲ πύλον, ὥξει δ' ἱακίνθου
Ὀσμὴν δισπύσσει. DUNSTER.

Ver. 353. *Than Ganymed or Hylas ;*] These were two most beautiful youths, the one beloved by Jupiter, to whom he was cup-bearer, the other by Hercules, for whom he drew water : they are therefore both properly mentioned upon this occasion.

NEWTON.

Milton had mentioned these two boys in his *seventh elegy*, where he compares the God of Love to them. In which he had most probably an eye to Spenser's description of Fancy in his *Mask of Cupid*, *Facr. Qu.* iii. xii. 7.

“ The first was *Fancy*, like a lovely boy, &c.”

DUNSTER.

Ver. 354. ————— *now solemn stood,*] The same idea of graceful attitude is given in a line of *Comus*, where the Enchanter, speaking to the Lady of her Brothers, whom he professes to have seen, says,

“ Their port was *more than human as they stood.*”

Hamlet likewise, in the scene with his Mother, thus exemplifies the *gracefulness* of his father's person,

“ A *station* like the herald Mercury

“ New-lighted on a heaven-kissing hill ;”

where “ *station*” is *attitude*, or the *act of standing*.

DUNSTER.

Nymphs of Diana's train, and Naiades 355
 With fruits and flowers from Amalthæa's horn,
 And ladies of the Hesperides, that seem'd
 Fairer than feign'd of old, or fabled since

Ver. 355. *Nymphs of Diana's train, and Naiades
 With fruits and flowers from Amalthæa's horn,
 And ladies of the Hesperides,*] The poet perhaps
 specifies these beautiful attendants, as more eminently possessing
 the power of beguiling the heart: *The Nymphs of Dian's train*,
 on account of their remarkable beauty: see *Odys.* vi. 110. *The
 Naiades*, as having been companions of the enchanter, Circe;
 see *Comus*, ver. 254. And *The ladies of the Hesperides*, by their
 skill in singing. See notes on *Comus*, v. 981.

Ibid. ————— *Naiades
 With fruits and flowers from Amalthæa's horn,*] The
 story of *Amalthæa's Horn*, strictly so called, is given by Ovid,
Fast. v. 115, &c.

But in the beginning of the ninth Book of the *Metamorphoses*,
 a different history of a *Cornucopia* is given, which seems to be
 more immediately referred to in this passage of the *Paradise Re-*
gained.

“ Nec fatis id fuerat; rigidum fera dextera cornu
 “ Dum tenet infregit; truncâque a fronte revellit.
 “ *Naiades hæc, pennis et adro flore repletum,*
 “ *Sacrarunt; divesque meo bona Copia cornu est.*”

DUNSTER.

Ver. 358. *Fairer than feign'd of old, or fabled since*] Some
 readers may perhaps, in this passage, think our author a little
 too fond of showing his great reading; a fault, of which he is
 indeed sometimes guilty: But those who are conversant in ro-
 mance-writers, and know how lavishly they are in the praises of
 their beauties, will, I doubt not, discover great propriety in
 this allusion. THYER.

In *Paradise Lost*, B. v. 380, Eve is described

————— “ *more lovely fair*
 “ Than wood-nymph, or the fairest goddess feign'd
 “ Of three that in mount Ida naked strove.”

Of faery damfels, met in forest wide
By knights of Logres, or of Lyones, 360

And, B. ix. 30. the Poet speaks of

————— “*fabled knights*
“ In battle feign’d.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 359. — *faery damfels, met in forest wide*
By knights of Logres, or of Lyones,

Lancelot, or Pelles, or Pellenore.] Sir *Lancelot, Pellear, and Pellenore*, (the latter by the title of *King Pellenore*,) are *Persons* in the old Romance of *Morte Arthur*, or *The Lyf of King Arthur, of his noble Knyghtes of the round table, and in thende the dolorous deth of them all*; written originally in French, and translated into English by Sir Thomas Malleory, Knt. printed by William Caxton, 1484.—From this old Romance, Mr. Warton, (*Observations on Spenser*, Sect. 2,) shows that Spenser borrowed much. Sir *Lancelot* is there called of *Logris*; and Sir *Tristram* is named of *Lyones*, under which title he appears also in the *Faery Queen*. *Logris* is the same with *Loegria*, (according to the more fabulous historians, and amongst them Milton,) an old name for England. Hollinshed calls it both *Loegria* and *Logiers*. See his *History of England*, B. ii. 4, 5. The same author, in his *Description of Britain*, instead of *Loegria*, or *Logiers*, writes it *Lbægres*. The Title of his 22d Chapter is, *after what manner the sovereignty of this isle doth remaine to the princes of Lbægres or kings of England*. Spenser, in his *Faery Queen*, where he gives the *Chronicle of the early Briton Kings from Brute to Uther's reign*, calls it *Logris*, ii. x. 14.

“ And Camber did possess the western quart,

“ Which Severn now from *Logris* doth depart.”

Lyones was an old name for *Cornwall*, or at least for a part of that county. Camden, (in his *Britannia*,) speaking of the *Land's End*, says, “ the inhabitants are of opinion that this promontory did once reach farther to the West, which the sea-men positively conclude from the rubbish they draw up. The neighbours will tell you too, from a certain old tradition, that the land there drowned by the incursions of the sea was called *Lioneffe*.” Sir

Lancelot, or Pelleas, or Pellenore.

Tristram of Lyones, or Lioneffe, is well known to the readers of the old romances. In the *French* translation of the *Orlando Innamorato* of Boiardo, he is termed *Triffrau de Lesnois*, although in the original he is only mentioned by the single name of Tristran. In the *Orlando Innamorato* also, among the knights, who defend Angelica in the fortrefs of Albracca against Agrican, is Sir Hubert of Lyones, *Uberto dal Leone*.—Tristram, in his account of himself in the *Faery Queen*, vi. ii. 28, says,

“ And Tristram is my name, the only heir
 “ Of good king Meliográs, which did reign
 “ In *Cornwall*, ‘till that he through life’s despair
 “ Untimely died.”

He then relates how his Uncle seized upon the crown, whereupon his Mother, conceiving great fears for her Son’s personal safety, determined to send him into “ some foreign land,”

“ Out of the country wherein I was bred,
 “ The which the fertile *Livyffe* is hight,
 “ Into the land of Faery.”

These particulars, Mr. Warton shows, are drawn from the *Morte Arctur*, where it is said “ there was a knight Meliodas, and he was Lord and King of the county of Lyones, and he wedded King Marke’s sister of Cornewale.”—The issue of this marriage was Sir Tristram.—These Knights, he also observes, are there often represented as meeting beautiful damsels in desolate forests.—Indeed a forest was almost as necessary in an old Romance as a valorous Knight, or a beautiful Damself, whose beauty and prowess were severally to be endangered and proved by the difficulties and dangers they underwent amidst—“ forests and enchantments drear.”

Milton’s later thoughts could not, we find, but rove at times where, as he himself told us, “ his younger feet wandered,” when he “ betook him among those lofty fables and romances, which recount in solemn Cantos the deeds of knighthood founded by our victorious kings, and from hence had in renowne over all Christendome.” *Appl. for Smectym.* p. 177. *Præf. W. 4.* ed. Amst. 1698.

And all the while harmonious airs were heard
Of chiming strings, or charming pipes; and winds
Of gentlest gale Arabian odours fann'd
From their soft wings, and Flora's earliest smells.

Sir Pelleas, "a very valorous knight of Arthur's round table," is one of those who pursue the Blatant beast, when, after having been conquered and chained up by Sir Calidore, it "broke its iron chain" and again "ranged through the world," *Faery Qu.* vi. xii. 39. DUNSTER.

Ver. 362. *And all the noble harmonious airs were heard
Of chiming strings, and charming pipes;]* Thus in
Par. Lost, B. xi. 558,

————— "the found
"Of instruments that made melodious chime."

And again, ver. 594, "*charming symphonies.*"

Spenser, as Mr. Calton observes, thus likewise uses the verb *to charm*, *Faer. Qu.* iv. ix. 13.

"Like as the fowler on his guileful pipe
"Charms to the birds full many a pleasant lay."

But Spenser has *to charm* frequently in this sense. Thus, in his *Colin Clout's come home again*, of his shepherd's boy,

"Charming his oaten pipe unto his peers."

And again in the conclusion of his *October*,

"Here we our slender pipes may safely charm."

DUNSTER.

Milton uses the expression "*charming pipe*," in his *Prose-Works* also. "The *charming pipe* of him who sounded and proclaimed liberty &c." vol. i. p. 281. edit. 1698.

Ver. 363. ————— and winds
*Of gentlest gales Arabian odours fann'd
From their soft wings,]* Mr. Thyer, who supposes this circumstance introduced in compliance with the eastern custom of using perfumes at their entertainments, has noticed the similarity of the following lines, *Par. Lost*, B. iv. 156.

Such was the splendour; and the Tempter now
His invitation earnestly renew'd.

————— “ now gentle gales,
“ Fanning their odoriferous wings, dispense
“ Native perfumes, and whisper whence they stole
“ Those balmy spoils.”

He might also have cited a beautiful line from our Author's early *Elegy*, *In adventum veris*;

“ Cinnamon Zephyrus leve plaudit odorifer alà.”

Milton in the same *Elegy* refers to the “ Arabian odours;”

“ Atque Arabum spirat myrris.”

And in the continuation of the passage from the *Paradise Lost*, exhibited by Mr. Thyer, he speaks of the winds blowing

“ Sabæan odours from the spicy shore
“ Of *Araby the blest*.” DUNSTER.

See also *Par. Lost*, B. viii. 515, &c. And compare Apoll. Rhod. *Argon.* i. 1142; and particularly the following passage from Drayton, *Moses Eliz.* 1630, p. 138.

“ Where the *soft zephyrus* did mutually embrace,
“ In the cool arbours Nature there had made;
“ Fanning their *sweet breath* gently in his face,
“ Through the calm emecture of the amorous shade.”

Ver. 366. *Such was the splendour*;] Virgil describing the magnificent entertainment prepared by Dido for Æneas, (*Æn.* i. 637,) says,

“ At domus interior regali *splendida* luxu
“ Instruitur;”

on which La Cerda observes, “ Apte et signate *splendida*, nam *splendor* de convivii sæpe;” and he cites from Athenæus, B. iii. ΔΑΜΠΡΟΤΑΤΗΝ δαπνὴν παρασυνύη.

The description of the splendid entertainment here prepared, purposely to captivate each of the senses, resembles the Address of Pleasure to Hercules in the famous Allegory of Prodicus,

What doubts the Son of God to fit and eat ?
 These are not fruits forbidd'n ; no interdict
 Defends the touching of these viands pure ; 370
 Their taste no knowledge works, at least of evil,
 But life preserves, destroys life's enemy,
 Hunger, with sweet restorative delight.
 All these are Spirits of air, and woods, and
 springs,
 Thy gentle ministers, who come to pay 375
 Thee homage, and acknowledge thee their Lord :
 What doubt'st thou, Son of God ? Sit down and
 eat.

To whom thus Jesus temperately replied.
 Said'st thou not that to all things I had right ?

which Xenophon has preserved in his *Memorabilia*, L. ii. as repeated by Socrates. DUNSTER.

Ver. 369. *These are not fruits forbidd'n, no interdict
 Defends the touching of these viands pure,
 Their taste no knowledge works, at least of evil,*]

This sarcastical allusion to the Fall of Man, and to that particular command by the transgression of which, being seduced by Satan, he fell, is finely in character of the speaker.

Milton, in his *Paradise Lost*, terms the forbidden fruit "the tree of *interdicted* knowledge." And, in the eighth Book, where Adam, relating to the Angel what he remembered since his own creation, particularly recites the divine command not to eat of the *tree of knowledge*, v. 323—335. DUNSTER.

Ver. 374. *All these are Spirits of air, and woods, and springs,*]
 These "Spirits of air, and woods, and springs" remind us of Shakspeare's

"Elves of hills, brooks, standing lakes and groves,"
 in the *Tempest*. DUNSTER.

And who withholds my power that right to use?
 Shall I receive by gift what of my own, 381
 When and where likes me best, I can command?
 I can at will, doubt not, as soon as thou,
 Command a table in this wilderness,
 And call swift flights of Angels ministrant 385
 Array'd in glory on my cup to attend:
 Why should'st thou then obtrude this diligence,
 In vain, where no acceptance it can find?
 And with my hunger what hast thou to do?

Ver. 385. ———— [*flights of Angels*] An expression likewise in Shakspeare, *Hamlet*, A. v. S. vi.

“ And *flights of Angels* sing thee to thy rest.”

NEWTON.

Ver. 386. ———— [*on my cup to attend*:] In the New Testament an Angel *attends on* the mystical *Cup* of Christ's Passion, *Luke*, xxii. 42. Pharaoh's *chief butler* was his cup-bearer; accordingly he says, “ *Pharaoh's cup was in my hand, and I gave the cup into Pharaoh's hand.*” Gen. xl. 11. And in later times all great personages had cup-bearers. It was a place of great honour; the king of Bohemia is great cup-bearer to the Emperor.

When Adam entertains the Angel, in *Paradise Lost*, Eve is their *cup-bearer*, or *attends on their cup*, B. v. 443.

————— “ at table Eve

“ *Ministr'd naked, and their flowing cups*

“ *With pleasant liquors crown'd:*”

Ministrare poculum, and *miscere poculum*, are classical phrases. “ Non ambrosia Deos, aut nectare, aut juventute pocula ministrante, letari arbitror.” Cicero, 1 *Tusc. Quæst.* 26.

“ Arripit Hiadem, qui nunc quoque pocula miscet,

“ Invisâque Jovi nectar Junone ministrat.”

Ovid, *Met.* x. 100. DUNSTER.

Thy pompous delicacies I contemn, 390
And count thy specious gifts no gifts, but guiles.

To whom thus answer'd Satan malecontent.
That I have also power to give, thou seest;
If of that power I bring thee voluntary
What I might have bestow'd on whom I pleas'd,
And rather opportunely in this place 396
Chose to impart to thy apparent need,
Why should'st thou not accept it? but I see
What I can do or offer is suspect;
Of these things others quickly will dispose, 400
Whose pains have earn'd the far-fet spoil. With
that

Ver. 391. *And count thy specious gifts no gifts, but guiles.*]
Not without a resemblance to Virgil, *Æn.* ii. 49.

———“timeo Danaos et dona ferentes;”

and to a preceding part of the same speech of Laocoon;

———“O miseri, quæ tanta insania, cives?

“Creditis avectos hostes, aut ulla putatis

“Dona carere dolis Danaum?”

Dr. Newton observes, that “*thy gifts no gifts*” is from Sophocles, *Ajax*, v. 675.

Εχθρῶν ἄδωρα δῶρα, καὶ ἐκ ἐνέχυρα. DUNSTER.

Ver. 401. ———— *far-fet*] Dr. Newton collects several instances of Chaucer, Spenser, and Johnson, using *fet*; and accompanies them with an observation “that *fet* is much softer than *fetch'd*,” upon which he grounds another remark that “our old writers had a better ear, and studied the beauties of sound more than the moderns.” I confess, to my ear *far-fetch'd* reads at least as musically as *far-fet*. But “*fet*” is one of those *old* words which Milton sometimes introduces purposely to deviate from the more modernised language of the day. Obvious

Both table and provision vanish'd quite
 With sound of harpies' wings and talons heard:
 Only the impórtune Tempter still remain'd,
 And with these words his temptation purfued. 405
 By hunger, that each other creature tames,
 Thou art not to be harm'd, therefore not mov'd;
 Thy temperance, invincible besides,
 For no allurement yields to appetite;
 And all thy heart is set on high designs, 410
 High actions: but wherewith to be achiev'd?

and ordinary forms of speech, as Addison observes, in his *Critique on the Language* of the *Paradise L. B.*, are so far debased by common use, that they became improper for a poet or an orator. "Old words," he adds, "make a poem appear the more venerable, by giving it an air of antiquity."

Fet is frequently used for *fetch'd* in our version of the Scriptures. DUNSTER.

Ver. 401. ————— *With that*

Both table and provision vanish'd quite

With sound of harpies' wings, and talons heard:]

In which the author has imitated Virgil, *Æn.* iii. 225.

"At subito horrífico lupu de montibus adfunt

"Harpyiæ, et ingris quatunt clangoribus alas,

"Diripiuntque dapes."

Shakspeare has a like scene in the *Tempest*, where "*several strange shapes bring in a banquet*; and afterwards *Enter Ariel like a harpy, claps his wings upon the table, and with a quaint device the banquet vanishes.*" NEWTON.

See the notes on *Comus*, v. 659.

Ver. 404. ——— *impórtune*] Spenser and our old poets write *impórtune*, thus accented, *Fær. Qu.* i. xii. 16.

"And often blame the too *impórtune* fate." NEWTON.

Great acts require great means of enterprise;
 Thou art unknown, unfriended, low of birth,
 A carpenter thy father known, thyself
 Bred up in poverty and straits at home, 415
 Lost in a desert here and hunger-bit:
 Which way, or from what hope, dost thou aspire
 To greatness? whence authority deriv'st?
 What followers, what retinue canst thou gain,
 Or at thy heels the dizzy multitude, 420
 Longer than thou canst feed them on thy cost?

Ver. 416. ———— *hunger-bit*:] "His strength shall be *hunger-bitten*; and destruction shall be ready at his side." *Job*, xviii. 12. DUNSTER.

Ver. 420. *Or at thy heels the dizzy multitude,*

Longer than thou canst feed them on thy cost] The dizzy multitude is the *ventosa plebs* of the Roman poets, who speaks of them, as to be galled in the same manner. *Hor. Epist.* I. xix. 37.

"Non ego *ventosæ plebis* suffragia venor

"*Impensæ cænarum.*"

The following passage in Shakspeare's *Timon of Athens*, was possibly here in Milton's mind; *A. ii. S. ii.*

"How many prodigal bits have slaves and peasants

"This night englutted! Who now is not Timon's?

"What heart, head, sword, force, means, but is Lord

"Timon's?

"Great Timon, noble, worthy, royal Timon's?

"Ah! when the means are gone that buy this praise,

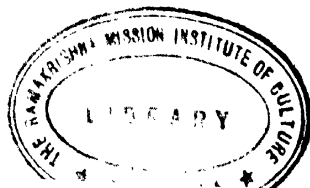
"The breath is gone whereof this praise is made;

"Feast-won, fast-lost; one cloud of winter flowers,

"These flies are couch'd." DUNSTER.

Ver. 421. ———— *canst feed them on thy cost*?] Thus, *Henry V. A. iv. S. iii.*

"Nor care I who doth feed upon my cost." DUNSTER.



Money brings honour, friends, conquest, and
realms :

What rais'd Antipater the Edomite,
And his son Herod plac'd on Judah's throne,
Thy throne, but gold that got him puissant
friends ? 425

Therefore, if at great things thou would'st arrive,
Get riches first, get wealth, and treasure heap,
Not difficult, if thou hearken to me :

Ver. 422. *Money brings honour, friends, conquest, and realms :*]
Mammon, in the *Faery Queen*, attempts the virtue of Sir Guyon
with the same pretences, ii. vii. 11.

" Vain-glorious Elf, said he, dost thou not weet,
" That money can thy wants at will supply ?
" Shields, steeds, and arms, and all things for thee meet
" It can purvey in twinkling of an eye :
" And crowns and kingdoms to thee multiply.
" Do I not kings create, and throw the crown
" Sometimes to him that low in dust doth lie ?
" And him that reign'd into his room thrust down,
" And whom I last do heap with glory and renown ?"

CALTON.

Ver. 423. *What rais'd Antipater the Edomite,*

And his son Herod plac'd on Judah's throne,] This
appears to be the fact from history. When Josephus introduces
Antipater upon the stage, he speaks of him as abounding with
great riches. Φῶδ' δὲ τὸ Ὑρκανὸς ἰδεμαῖος, Ἀντίπατρον λαγόμενος,
πολλὰ μὲν ὥστε ἐν χρημάτων, κ. τ. λ. *Antiq.* lib. xiv. cap. ii. And
his son Herod was declared king of Judea by the favour of Mark
Antony, partly for the sake of the money which he promised to
give him; τὸ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ χρημάτων ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ Ἡρόδης ἐπίσχυτο δῶσσι οὐ
γινώσκοντες βασιλεῖς. *Ibid.* cap. xxvi. NEWTON.

Ver. 427. *Get riches first,*] *Hor. Epist.* I. i. 53.

———"quærenda pecunia primum est." NEWTON.

Riches are mine, fortune is in my hand ;
 They whom I favour thrive in wealth amain, 430
 While virtue, valour, wisdom, sit in want.

To whom thus Jesus patiently replied.
 Yet wealth, without these three, is impotent
 To gain dominion, or to keep it gain'd.
 Witness those ancient empires of the earth, 435
 In highth of all their flowing wealth dissolv'd :
 But men endued with these have oft attain'd
 In lowest poverty to highest deeds ;
 Gideon, and Jephtha, and the shepherd lad,

Ver. 429. *Riches are mine, fortune is in my hand ;*

They whom I favour thrive in wealth amain,]

This temptation we owe to our author's invention, as Mr. Thyer observes, who adds, that " it is very happily contrived, as it gradually leads the reader on to the stronger ones in the following books." It affords also a fine opportunity of concluding this book with some reflexions, the beauty of which Mr. Thyer has justly noted, on the insufficiency of riches and power to the happiness of mankind.

The language here reminds us of Spenser, who puts a similar speech in the mouth of Mammon, *Faer. Qu.* ii. vii. 8.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 432. *To whom thus Jesus patiently replied.]* When our Saviour, a little before, refused to partake of the banquet, to which Satan had invited him, the line ran thus, ver. 378.

" To whom thus Jesus *temperately* plied."

But now when Satan has reproached him with his poverty and low circumstances, the word is fitly altered, and the verse runs thus,

" To whom thus Jesus *patiently* replied." NEWTON.

Ver. 439. *Gideon, and Jephtha, and the shepherd lad,]* Our Saviour is rightly made to cite his first instances from Scripture,

Whose offspring on the throne of Judah sat 440
 So many ages, and shall yet regain
 That seat, and reign in Israel without end.
 Among the Heathen, (for throughout the world
 To me is not unknown what hath been done
 Worthy of immortal,) canst thou not remember
 Quintius, Fabricius, Curius, Regulus? 446

and of his own nation, as being the best known to him; but it is with great art that the poet also supposes him not to be unacquainted with He then history, for the sake of introducing a greater variety of examples. Gideon saith of himself, "*O my Lord, where-with shall I save Israel? behold my family is poor in Manassah, and I am the best in my father's house.*" Judges, vi. 15. And Jephtha "*saves the son of an harlot,*" and his brethren "*thrust him out, and said unto him, Thou shalt not inherit in our father's house, for thou art the son of a strange woman.*" Judges, xi. 1, 2. And the exaltation of David from a sheep-herd to a scepter is very well known. "*He chose David also his servant, and took him from the sheep folds: From following the ewes great with young, he brought him to feed Jacob his father, and Israel his inheritance.*" Psalm lxxviii. 70, 71.

NEWTON.

Bold. ————— the shepherd lad,] So David is called in P. Fletcher's *Pop. Island*, c. ix. st. 17.

"Upon his shield was drawn that shepherd lad,

"Who with a sling threw down faint Israel's fears."

Ver. 446. *Quintus, Fabricius, Curius, Regulus?*] *Quintus Cincinatus* was twice invited from following the plough, to be consul and dictator of Rome, and after he had subdued the enemy, when the senate would have enriched him with publick lands and private contributions, he rejected all these offers, and retired again to his cottage and old course of life. *Fabricius* could not be bribed by all the large offers of king Pyrrhus to set him in negotiating a peace with the Romans: and yet he lived and died so poor, that he was buried at the publick

For I esteem those names of men so poor,
Who could do mighty things, and could contemn

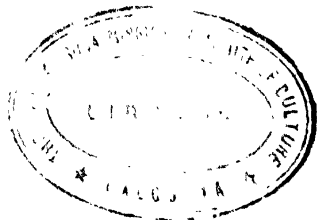
expence, and his daughters fortunes were paid out of the treasury. *Cornus Dentatus* would not accept of the lands which the senate had assigned him for the reward of his victories; and when the ambassadors of the Samnites offered him a large sum of money as he was sitting at the fire and roasting turnips with his own hands, he nobly refused to take it, saying that it was his ambition not to be rich, but to command those who were so. And *Regulus*, after performing many great exploits, was taken prisoner by the Carthaginians, and sent with the ambassadors to Rome to treat of peace, upon oath to return to Carthage, if no peace or exchange of prisoners should be agreed upon: but was himself the first to dissuade a peace, and chose to leave his country, family, friends, every thing, and return a glorious captive to certain tortures and death, rather than suffer the senate to conclude a dishonourable treaty. Our Saviour cites these instances of noble Romans in order of time, as he did those of his own nation: And, as Mr. Calton observes, the Romans in the most degenerate times were fond of these (and some other like) examples of ancient virtue; and their writers of all sorts delight to introduce them: but the greatest honour that poetry ever did them is here, by the praise of the Son of God. NEWTON.

Ver. 447. *For I esteem those names of men so poor,
Who could do mighty things, &c.*] The author had here plainly Claudian in his mind. *De IV. Cons. Honor.* 412.

“*Discitur hinc quantum paupertas sobria possit :*
“*Pauper erat Curius, cum reges vinceret armis ;*
“*Pauper Fabricius, Pyrrhi cum sperneret aurum ;*
“*Sordida Serranus flexit Dictator aratra ; &c.*”

And again, *In Rufinum*, i. 200.

“*Semper inops, quicumque cupit. Contentus honesto*
“*Fabricius parvo spernebat munera regum,*
“*Sudabatque gravi Consul Serranus aratro,*
“*Et casa pugnaces Curios angusta tegebat.*
“*Hæc mihi paupertas opulentior.*”



Riches, though offer'd from the hand of kings.
 And what in me seems wanting, but that I 450
 May also in this poverty as soon
 Accomplish what they did, perhaps and more?
 Extol not riches then, the toil of fools,
 The wife man's cumbrance, if not snare; more apt
 To slacken Virtue, and abate her edge, 455
 Than prompt her to do aught may merit praise.

It is probable that he remembered here some of his beloved republicans,

—————“ those names of men so poor

“ Who could do mighty things;”

and it is possible that he might also think of himself, who

—————“ could contemn

“ Riches though offer'd from the hand of kings;”

if that story be true of his having been offered to be Latin secretary to Charles the Second, and of his refusing it.

NEWTON.

Ver. 453. *Extol not riches then, &c.*] Milton concludes this book, and our Saviour's reply to Satan, with a series of thoughts as noble and just, and as worthy of the speaker, as can possibly be imagined. I think one may venture to affirm, that, as the *Paradise Regained* is a poem entirely moral and religious, the excellency of which does not consist so much in bold figures and strong images, as in deep and virtuous sentiments expressed with a becoming gravity, and a certain decent majesty, this is as true an instance of the sublime, as the battles of the Angels in the *Paradise Lost*. TAYLOR.

Ibid. ————— *the toil of fools,*

The wife man's cumbrance, if not snare; more apt

To slacken Virtue, and abate her edge,

Than prompt her to do aught may merit praise.] Thus

Juvenal, *Sat.* vi. 297.

What if with like averſion I reject
 Riches and realms? yet not, for that a crown,
 Golden in ſhow, is but a wreath of thorns,
 Brings dangers, troubles, cares, and ſleepleſs
 nights, 460
 To him who wears the regal diadem,
 When on his ſhoulders each man's burden lies;

“ *Prima peregrinos obſcæna pecunia mores*

“ *Intulit, et turpi fregerunt ſæcula luxu*

“ *Divitiæ molles.*”

And ſee Spenſer, *Faery Queen*, ii. vii. 12, 13. DUNSTER.

Ver. 454. *The wiſe man's cumbrance,*] The expreſſion *cumbrance* has ſome reſemblance to a phraſe of Horace, *Sat.* II. ii. 77.

“ ————— “ *corpus onuſtum*

“ *Hæſternis vitiis animum quoque prægravat.*”

DUNSTER.

Ver. 458. ————— yet not, for that a crown,
Golden in ſhow, is but a wreath of thorns,
Brings dangers, troubles, cares, and ſleepleſs nights,
To him who wears the regal diadem,
When on his ſhoulders each man's burden lies; &c.]

Milton ſeems here to have had in his mind ſeveral parts of the ſoliloquy in Shakſpeare's *Henry the Fifth*, which the poet has put in the mouth of the king, immediately before the battle of Agincourt.

Or we may compare the prince of Wales's addreſs to the crown, when he finds his father ſleep, with the crown upon his pillow, II *Henry IV.* A. iv. S. iv.

And alſo the opening of the third Act of the ſame play, where the king, complaining of his wakeful night, deſcribes the ſleep of the poor and laborious, and particularly of the ſhip-boy upon “ the high and giddy maſt.” DUNSTER.

For therein stands the office of a king,
 His honour, virtue, merit, and chief praise,
 That for the publick all this weight he bears. 465
 Yet he, who reigns within himself, and rules

Ver. 463. *For therein stands the office of a king,
 His honour, virtue, merit, and chief praise,
 That for the publick all this weight he bears.*]

Milton, in the height of his political ardour, declared that he was not a hater of kings, but only to tyrants." Neither is there any occasion to question the truth of his assertion; but such was his apprehension of *monarchical* tyranny, that the current of his prejudices certainly ran very strongly in favour of a republican government. Even in one of his latest political publications, *The ready and easy way to establish a Free Commonwealth*, he professes that "though there may be such a king, who may regard the common good before his own, yet this rarely happens in a monarchy not elective;" and, on this ground, he strongly remonstrates against the *right* of admitting *Kingship*. The contest however was now completely over; and our author, having seen the fallacy not only of his hopes, but also of his confidence in those persons, of whose consummate hypocrisy his ardent integrity had been the dupe, seems, in thus sketching out the laborious duties of a good and patriotick prince, to be somewhat more reconciled to kingly government. About this time also, seemingly under the same impression, he had proceeded in his History, and composed the fifth and sixth Books, in which we find no marks of any spleenetic dislike to kings: on the contrary, many of the characters of our early monarchs are drawn not merely with an impartial hand, but often with a favourable one. His character of Alfred in particular is given with the most affectionate admiration, and is not without its resemblance to the compressed description of a good king in this place. See his *Hist. of Eng.* B. v. DUNSTON.

Ver. 466. *Yet he, who reigns within himself,]* "The *Paradise Regained*," Mr. Hayley very justly observes, "is a poem that particularly deserves to be recommended to ardent and

Passions, desires, and fears, is more a king ;
 Which every wise and virtuous man attains ;
 And who attains not, ill aspires to rule
 Cities of men, or headstrong multitudes, 470
 Subject himself to anarchy within,
 Or lawless passions in him, which he serves.
 But to guide nations in the way of truth
 By saving doctrine, and from error lead
 To know, and knowing worship God aright, 475

ingenuous youth, as it is admirably calculated to inspire *that spirit of self-command, which is, as Milton esteemed it, the truest heroism, and the triumph of Christianity.*" Life of Milton, p. 126. DUNSTER.

Ibid. *Yet he, who reigns within himself, &c.*] Such sentiments are inculcated not only by the philosophers, but also by the poets ; as Hor. *Od.* II. ii. 9.

" Latius regnes avidum domando

" Spiritum, &c."

and, *Sat.* II. vii. 83.

" Quisnam igitur liber ? Sapiens ; sibi qui imperiosus, &c."

NEWTON.

Ver. 471. *Subject himself to anarchy within,*

Or lawless passions in him, which he serves.] We

may compare the following passage in the *Paradise Lost*, B. xii. 86.

" Reason in man obscur'd, or not obey'd,

" Immediately inordinate desires

" And upstart passions catch the government

" From reason, and to servitude reduce

" Man till then free." DUNSTER.

Ver. 473. *But to guide nations in the way of truth*

By saving doctrine, and from error lead

To know, and knowing worship God aright,

Is yet more kingly ;] In this speech concerning

riches and realms, our poet has culled all the choicest, finest

Is yet more kingly ; this attracts the soul,
 Governs the inner man, the nobler part ;
 That other o'er the body only reigns,
 And oft by force, which, to a generous mind,
 So reigning, can be no sincere delight. 480
 Besides, to give a kingdom hath been thought
 Greater and nobler done, and to lay down
 Far more magnanimous, than to assume.

flowers out of the heathen poets and philosophers who have written upon these subjects. It is not so much their words, as their substance sublimed and improved. But here he soars above them, and nothing could have given him so complete an idea of a divine teacher, as the life and character of our Blessed Saviour.

NEWTON.

Ver. 478. *That other o'er the body only reigns,
 And oft by force, which, to a generous mind,
 So reigning, can be no sincere delight.*] This is perfectly consonant to our Lord's early sentiments, as the poet describes him relating them in the first Book of this Poem, ver. 221.

" Yet held it more humane, more heavenly, first
 " By winning words to conquer willing hearts,
 " And make persuasion do the work of fear."

DUNSTER.

Ver. 481. *Besides, to give a kingdom hath been thought
 Greater and nobler done, and to lay down
 Far more magnanimous, than to assume.*] So Herod transferred the kingdom of Sidon from himself to another. (Quint. Curt. IV. 1.) " Vos quidem magis virtute inquit, estote, qui primi intellexistis, quanto majus esset, regnum fastidire quam accipere, &c." Dioclesian, Charles V. and others, who have resigned the crown, were perhaps in our author's thought, upon this occasion. For, as Seneca says, (Thyest., III. 579.)

" Habere regnum, casus est : virtus, dare." NEWTON.

Riches are needless then, both for themselves,

Possibly Milton had here in his mind the famous Christina queen of Sweden, who, after having reigned twenty-one years, resigned her crown to her cousin Charles Gustavus, when she was still a young woman, being only thirty years old. Our author had before paid her considerable compliments. The verses under Cromwell's picture, sent to Christina, have been generally supposed to be his: though Mr. Warton inclines to think they were written by Andrew Marvel, and adds that he suspects "Milton's habit of facility in elegiack Latinity had long ago ceased." What ground he had for this suspicion he does not specify, nor is it easy to conjecture. I should not willingly persuade myself that our author could soon lose any faculty which he had acquired. Besides these verses must have been written before the year 1654, when Christina abdicated; and only nine years before that, when he published a collection of his Latin and English poems in 1645, he had added to his *seventh Elegy* ten lines which sufficiently show that he then perfectly retained his Elegiack Latinity; and why it should be supposed entirely to cease in eight or nine years more I cannot imagine. As Marvel was not his associate in the secretaryship till the year 1657, Milton has officially the best claim to them. It was also an employment which, we may well suppose, he was fond of, as at this time he certainly thought highly of Christina, and was particularly flattered with the idea that, on reading his *Defensio Populi*, she withdrew all her protection from his antagonist Salmasius, who was then resident at her court, and whom, it was then said, she dismissed with contempt, as a parasite and an advocate of tyranny. Accordingly, in his *Defensio secunda*, Milton honours her with a most splendid panegyrick; and in appealing to her that he had no determined prejudices against kings, nor any wish wantonly to attack their rights, he particularly congratulates himself upon having a witness of his integrity *tam vere regiam*. The expression is sufficiently obvious and hackneyed in the flattery of royalty, but it is well worth observing, when it comes from one who so seldom sings in that strain. It may also be noticed here, as we trace a resemblance of it in some of the preceding lines, where our author having

And for thy reason why they should be fought,

said that in the laborious and disinterested discharge of magistracy consists the real and proper "office of a king," proceeds to ascribe a superior degree of royalty, or the most distinguished eminence, to him who is duly practised in the habit of self-command;

"Yet he who reigns within himself and rules

"Passions, desires, and fears, is *more a king*;"

and still more to him who conscientiously labours for the well-doing and well-being of mankind at large, by the zealous propagation of truth and pure unadulterated religion;

"But to guide nations in the way of truth

"By saving doctrine, and from error lead

"To know, and knowing worship God aright,

"Is yet *more a king*."

Milton it appears however was rather unfortunate in his selection of a favourite from among the crowned heads of his time. Mr. Warton, in his note on the Verses to Christin, collects many curious anecdotes of her improprieties and absurdities; and Harte, the English historian of Gustavus Adolphus, terms her "an unaccountable woman, reading much, yet not extremely learned; a collector and critic in the fine arts, but collecting without judgment, and forming conclusions without taste; affecting pomp, and rendering herself a beggar, fond to receive fertile dependance, yet directing herself of the means, paying court to the most serious christians, and making profession of little less than atheism." But our author saw only the bright side of her character, and considered her as a learned, pious, patriotic, disinterested princess. DUNSTON.

See more illustration, drawn from indisputable authority, relating to this extraordinary character, in my note on the Poet's *Verses to her*.

Ver. 452. — — — — — *as I to her do*

[*her in my power as, than to affirm.*] We may rather trace Milton's love to Alcegar, than to the passage cited in a preceding note, from Q. Curtius by Dr. Newton. "Quid?

To gain a scepter, oft'est better mis'd.

quod duas virtutes, quæ inter nobiles quoque unice claræ sunt, in uno video fuisse mancipio, imperium regendi peritiam et *imperium contemnuendi magnanimitatem*. Anaxilaus enim Messenius, qui Messanam in Sicilia condidit, fuit Rheginorum tyrannus. Is, cum parvos relinqueret liberos, Micitho servo suo commendasse contentus est. Is tutelam sancte gessit; imperiumque tam clementer obtinuit, ut Rhegini a servo regi non dedignarentur. Perductus deinde in ætatem pueris et bona et imperium tradidit. Ipse parvo viatico sumpto profectus est; et Olympiæ cum summa tranquillitate consenuit." *Saturnal.* i. 11. DUNSTER.

THE END OF THE SECOND BOOK.

THE
THIRD BOOK
OF
PARADISE REGAINED.

THE ARGUMENT.

Satan, in a speech of much flattering commendation, endeavours to awaken in Jesus a passion for glory, by particularising various instances of conquests achieved, and great actions performed, by persons at an early period of life. Our Lord replies, by showing the vanity of worldly fame, and the improper means by which it is generally attained; and contrasts with it the true glory of religious patience and virtuous wisdom, as exemplified in the character of Job. Satan justifies the love of glory from the example of God himself, who requires it from all his creatures. Jesus detects the fallacy of this argument, by showing that, as goodness is the true ground on which glory is due to the great Creator of all things, sinful Man can have no right whatever to it. Satan then urges our Lord respecting his claim to the throne of David; he tells him that the kingdom of Judea, being at that time a province of Rome, cannot be got possession of without much personal exertion on his part, and presses him to lose no time in beginning to reign. Jesus refers him to the time allotted for this, as for all other things; and, after intimating somewhat respecting his own precious sufferings, asks Satan, why he should be so solicitous for the exaltation of one, whose rising was destined to be his fall. Satan replies, that his own desperate state, by excluding all hope, leaves little room for fear; and that, as his own punishment was equally doomed, he is not interested in preventing the reign of one, from whose apparent benevolence he might rather hope for some interference in his favour.--Satan still pursues his former incitements: and, supposing that the seeming reluctance of Jesus to be thus advanced might arise from his being un-

THE ARGUMENT.

acquainted with the world and its glories, conveys him to the summit of a high mountain, and from thence shows him most of the kingdoms of Asia, particularly pointing out to his notice some extraordinary military preparations of the Parthians to resist the incursions of the Scythians. He then informs our Lord, that he showed him this purposely that he might see how necessary military exertions are to retain the possession of kingdoms, as well as to subdue them at first, and advises him to consider how impossible it was to maintain Judea against two such powerful neighbours as the Romans and Parthians, and how necessary it would be to form an alliance with one or other of them. At the same time he recommends, and engages to secure to him, that of the Parthians; and tells him that by this means his power will be defended from any thing that Rome or Caesar might attempt against it, and that he will be able to extend his glory wide, and especially to accomplish, what was particularly necessary to make the throne of Judea really the throne of David, the deliverance and restoration of the ten tribes, still in a state of captivity. Jesus, having briefly noticed the vanity of military efforts and the weakness of the arm of flesh, says, that when the time comes for ascending his allotted throne he shall not be slack: he remarks on Satan's extraordinary zeal for the deliverance of the Israelites, to whom he had always showed himself an enemy, and declares their servitude to be the consequence of their idolatry; but adds, that at a future time it may perhaps please God to recall them, and restore them to their liberty and native land.

PARADISE REGAINED.

BOOK III.

SO spake the Son of God; and Satan stood
A while, as mute, confounded what to say,
What to reply, confuted, and convinc'd
Of his weak arguing and fallacious drift;
At length, collecting all his serpent wiles, ;
With soothing words renew'd him thus accosts.

I see thou know'st what is of use to know,
What best to say canst say, to do canst do;
Thy actions to thy words accord, thy words
To thy large heart give utterance due, thy heart 10
Contains of good, wise, just, the perfect shape.

Ver. 10. *To thy large heart*] See my note on *Par. Lost*,
B. i. 444.

Ver. 11. — *of good, wise just, the perfect shape.*] Milton,
no doubt, by the word *shape* intended to express the meaning of
the Greek *idea*, but in my opinion it does not at all come up to
it, and seems rather harsh and inelegant. There are words in
all languages, which cannot well be translated without losing much
of their beauty, and even some of their meaning; of this sort
I take the word *idea* to be. Tully renders it by the word *species*
with as little success as Milton has done here by his English *shape*.

THYER.

I should rather think it expressed from the *perfecta forma boni*
vestiti, and the *forma ipsa bonesti* of Cicero. *De Fin.* ii. 15.

Should kings and nations from thy mouth consult,
 Thy counsel would be as the oracle
 Urim and Thummim, those oraculous gems
 On Aaron's breast; or tongue of seers old 15
 Infallible: Or wert thou fought to deeds
 That might require the array of war, thy skill
 Of conduct would be such, that all the world
 Could not sustain thy prowess, or subsist
 In battle, though against thy few in arms. 20
 These God-like virtues wherefore dost thou hide,
 Affecting private life, or more obscure
 In savage wilderness? Wherefore deprive
 All Earth her wonder at thy acts, thyself
 The fame and glory, glory the reward 25

"Habes undique expletam et perfectam, Torquate, *formam honestatis*, &c." De Off. i. 5. "*Formam* quidem *ipsam*, Marce fili, et tanquam faciem *boni* vides; quæ, si oculis cerneretur, &c." And the more, because he renders *forma* by *shape* in the *Paradise Lost*, B. iv. 848.

"Virtue in her *shape* how lovely." NEWTON.

Milton was also fond of this phrase. See my note on *Par. Lost*, B. iv. 848.

Ver. 15. ————— *r tongue of seers old*

Infallible:] The poet by mentioning *this* after *Urim and Thummim* seems to allude to the opinion of the Jews, that the Holy Spirit spake to the children of Israel during the revelation by *Urim and Thummim*, and under the first temple by the *prophets*. See Prideaux's *Connex.* Part i. Book iii.

NEWTON.

Ver. 25. ————— *glory the reward*] Our Saviour having withstood the allurement of riches, Satan attacks him in the next place with the charms of glory. I have sometimes thought that Milton might possibly take the hint of *thus* con-

That sole excites to high attempts, the flame
Of most erected spirits, most temper'd pure
Ethereal, who all pleasures else despise,
All treasures and all gain esteem as dross,

necting these two temptations from Spenser, who, in his second Book of the *Faery Queen*, representing the virtue of temperance under the character of Guyon, and leading him through various trials of his constancy, brings him to the house of riches, or *Mammon's delve* as he terms it, and immediately after to the palace of glory, which he describes, in his allegorical manner, under the figure of a beautiful woman called *Philotime*. THYER.

Ver. 25. ———— *glory the reward &c.*] See Mr. Warton's note on *Lycidas*, ver. 70.

Ver. 26. ———— *the flame*
Of most erected spirits,] Silius Ital. vi. 332.

————— "Fax mentis honestæ

"Gloria." DUNSTER.

Ver. 27. *Of most erected spirits,*] The Author here remembered Cicero; *Pro Archia*. "Trahimur omnes laudis studio, et optimus quisque maxime gloria ducitur." *De Off.* i. 8. In maximis animis splendidissimisque ingeniis plurumque existunt honoris, imperii, potentia, gloria cupiditates." NEWTON.

Erected spirits is a classical phrase. "Magno animo et erecto est, nec unquam succumbit inimicis, nec fortunæ quidem." Cicero, *Pro Rege Deiotaro*, 13. And Seneca, *Epist.* ix. "Ad hoc enim multis illi rebus opus est, ad illud tantum animo sano, et erecto, et despiciente fortunam."

It occurs likewise in *Paradise Lost*, B. i. 679.

"Mammon the least erected spirit that fell

"From Heaven." DUNSTER.

Ver. 28. ———— *who all pleasures else despise,*
All treasures and all gain esteem as dross,] Thus Spenser, in the conclusion of his *Hymn of Heavenly Love*;

"Thenceforth all world's desires will in thee die,

"And all earth's glory, on which men do gaze,

"Seem dirt and dross in thy pure-sighted eye."

And dignities and powers all but the highest? 30
 Thy years are ripe, and over-ripe; the son
 Of Macedonian Philip had ere these
 Won Asia, and the throne of Cyrus held
 At his dispose; young Scipio had brought down
 The Carthaginian pride; young Pompey quell'd
 The Pontick king, and in triumph had rode. 36

And Milton, in his *Verfus on time*;

"Which is no more than what is false and vain,

"And merely mortal *drift*." DUNSTER.

Ver. 31. *Thy years are ripe, and over-ripe*;] Our Saviour's Temptation was soon after his Baptism; and he was baptized when he was *about thirty years of age*. Luke, iii. 23.

NEWTON.

Ibid. ————— *the son*

Of Macedonian Philip &c.] Alexander was but twenty years old, when he began to reign; and in a few years he overturned the Persian Empire, which was founded by Cyrus. Alexander died in the thirty-third year of his age. NEWTON.

Ver. 34. *At his dispose*;] Shakspeare writes *dispos* for *disposal*, K. John, A. i. S. iii.

"Needs must you lay your heart at his *dispos*."

DUNSTER.

Ibid. ————— *young Scipio had brought down*

The Carthaginian pride;] Scipio Africanus was no more than twenty-four years old, when he was sent Proconsul into Spain. He was between twenty-eight and twenty-nine, when, being chosen Consul before the usual time, he transferred the war into Africa. NEWTON.

Ver. 35. ————— *young Pompey quell'd*

The Pontick king, and in triumph had rode.] In this instance our author is not so exact as in the rest; for when Pompey was sent to command the war in Asia against Mithridates king

Yet years, and to ripe years judgement mature,
 Quench not the thirst of glory, but augment.
 Great Julius, whom now all the world admires,
 The more he grew in years, the more inflam'd 40
 With glory, wept that he had liv'd so long
 Inglorious : But thou yet art not too late.

of Pontus, he was above forty, but had signalized himself by many extraordinary actions in his younger years, and had obtained the honour of two triumphs before that time. Pompey and Cicero were born in the same year ; and the Manilian law, which gave the command in Asia to Pompey, was proposed when Cicero was in the forty-first year of his age. But no wonder that Milton was mistaken in point of time, when several of the Ancients were. Plutarch, speaking of Pompey's three memorable triumphs over the three parts of the world, his first over Africa, his second over Europe, and this last over Asia, says, that as for his age, those who affect to make the parallel exact in all things betwixt him and Alexander the Great, would not allow him to be quite thirty-four, whereas in truth at this time he was near forty. See Plut., *Vit. Pompeii*. NEWTON.

Ver. 38. ——— *the thirst of glory,*] Cicero, *Ad Quinct. Frat.* iii. 5. “ Nec honores *sitis*, nec desidero gloriam.”

And our author, in his Preface to his *Eiconoclastes* ; “ I never was so *thirsty after fame*, nor so destitute of other hopes, and means better, and more certain to attain it.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 41. ——— *wept that he had liv'd so long*

Inglorious :] Alluding to a story related of Julius Cæsar, that, one day reading the history of Alexander, he sat a great while very thoughtful, and at last burst into tears, and his friends wondring at the reason of it, Do you not think, said he, I have just cause to weep, when I consider that Alexander at my age had conquered so many nations, and I have all this time done nothing that is memorable ? See Plutarch's *Life of Cæsar*. Others say, it was at the sight of an image of Alexander the Great. See Suetonii *Jul. Cæs.* Cap. 7. NEWTON.

To whom our Saviour calmly thus replied.
 Thou neither dost persuade me to seek wealth
 For empire's sake, nor empire to affect 45
 For glory's sake, by all thy argument.
 For what is glory but the blaze of fame,
 The people's praise, if always praise unmix'd?
 And what the people but a herd confus'd,
 A miscellaneous rabble who extol 50

"Inglorious" here is Virgil's *inglorius*, i. e. insensible to the charms of glory, *Georg.* ii. 485.

"Rura mihi et rigui placeant in vallibus amnes;

"Flumina amem sylvasque *inglorius*." DUNSTER.

Ver. 44. *Thou neither dost persuade me &c.*] How admirably does Milton in this speech expose the emptiness and uncertainty of a popular character, and found true glory upon its only sure basis, the approbation of the God of truth! There is a remarkable dignity of sentiment runs quite through it, and I think it will be no extravagance to assert, that he has comprised in this short compass the substance and quintessence of a subject which has exercised the pens of the greatest moralists in all ages.

THYER.

Ver. 42. *The people's praise, &c.*] We may compare with this and some of the following lines the 31st stanza of Giles Fletcher's *Chry's Triumph over Death*:

"Frail multitude! whose giddy law is list,

"And best applause is windy flattering,

"Most like the breath of which it doth consist,

"No sooner blown, but as soon vanishing,

"As much desir'd, as little profiting,

"That makes the men that have it oft as light

"As those that give it." DUNSTER.

Ver. 49. *And what the people but a herd confus'd,
 A miscellaneous rabble who extol*

Things vulgar, and, well weigh'd, scarce worth
the praise?

They praise, and they admire, they know not what,
And know not whom, but as one leads the other;
And what delight to be by such extoll'd,
To live upon their tongues, and be their talk, 55
Of whom to be disprais'd were no small praise?
His lot who dares be singularly good.
The intelligent among them and the wife

*Things vulgar, and well weigh'd, scarce worth the
praise?*

*They praise and they admire, they know not what,
And know not whom, but as one leads the other;]*

These lines are certainly no proof of a Democratick disposition in our author. DUNSTER.

No. And I think it not improbable that Burke, who loved the poetry of Milton, might have borrowed from this passage the hint of his well-known expression; against which less clamour would have been raised, if the *herd confus'd* and the *miscellaneous rabble* of a professed republican had been, as they ought to have been, remembered.

Ver. 56. *Of whom to be disprais'd]* Tickell and Fenton corruptly read, after Tonson's editions of 1707 and 1711, "Of whom to be *despis'd*." The genuine reading is restored in Tonson's edit. of 1747.

Ver. 57. *His lot who dares be singularly good.]* Dr. Newton conjectures that Milton might here allude to himself, "who *dared* to be as singular in his opinions and in his conduct as any man whatever."—But the language of the poet in this place is perhaps only classical, as it might well have been suggested by Horace, *Ep.* I. ii. 40.

————— "Sapere aude;

"Incipe; *vivendi recte* qui prorogat horam,

"Rusticus expectat dum defluit amnis." DUNSTER.

Are few, and glory scarce of few is rais'd.
 This is true glory and renown, when God 60
 Looking on the earth, with approbation marks
 The just man, and divulges him through Heaven
 To all his Angels, who with true applause

Ver. 59. ——— *and glory scarce of few is rais'd.*] "*Gloriam latius fufam latelligo, et fupremo meo non concedit. Quid miror inter electionem et gloriam dicere? gloria melior est illa, in qua conflat, claritas bonorum.*" Senec. *Epift.* 102. DESSERT.

Ver. 60. *This is true glory and renown, &c.*] There is a glory that is real and substantial, *exempli*, as Lady flows, *veritas*, *et cetera*, which is visible and true, when all the records and monuments of human pride are perished. CERVINS.

Ver. 60. ——— *and glory scarce of few is rais'd.*

Looking on the earth, with approbation marks.

The just man, &c.] "*Ecce spectaculum dignum, ad quod respiciat intentus spiritus fidei Deus! Ecce pater Deo dignum, vir fortis eam myla fortiter composuisti, utique si et prociavit! Non video, inquam, quid habet in terris superius pulchrius, si convertit amentem vultu, quam ut si ceteri Ceteronem, cum per tribus non fesset fractis stantem, in illiusmodi inter rudinas publicis rectum.*" Seneca, *De Providentia*, 2.

This celebrated passage of Seneca the amiably affectionate biographer of Milton applies to the principles and the affliction of our author. (Hayley's *Life of Milton*, p. 132.)—Possibly Milton himself, under a consciousness of his own and termed himself a *regent* (in which, as meriting and not the divine approbation, he really prided himself) might have intended in this place the same application. DESSERT.

Ver. 62. ——— *and divulges him through Heaven*] See, in *Saunders's* *Apoc.* v. 1248, as Mr. Daniel observes.

"Though I have drench'd him faster of new fears,"

And then, in Hayley's *Paraphrase upon Job*:

"Now will I ruin by the breath of *Fame*

"*Divulged* through all the East."

Recount his praises : thus he did to Job,
 When, to extend his fame through Heaven and
 Earth,

As thou to thy reproach may'st well remember,
 He ask'd thee, " Hast thou seen my servant Job ?"
 Famous he was in Heaven, on Earth less known ;
 Where glory is false glory, attributed
 To things not glorious, men not worthy of fame.
 They err, who count it glorious to subdue
 By conquest far and wide, to over-run

Ver. 67. *He ask'd thee, " Hast thou seen my servant Job ?"]*
 Job, i. 8. NEWTON.

Ver. 69. *Where glory is false glory, attributed
 To things not glorious, men not worthy of fame.]* True
 glory, Tully says, is the praise of good men, the echo of virtue :
 but that ape of glory, the random injudicious applause of the
 multitude, is often bestowed upon the worst of actions. " Est
 enim gloria solida quædam res et expressa, non adumbrata : ea
 est consentiens laus bonorum, incorrupta vox bene judicantium de
 eccellente virtute : ea virtuti resonat tanquam imago :—illa
 autem, quæ se ejus imitatricem esse vult, temeraria atque incon-
 siderata, et plerumque peccatorum vitiorumque laudatrix, fama
 popularis, simulatione honestatis formam ejus pulchritudinemque
 corrumpit. Qua cæcitate homines, cum quædam etiam præclara
 cuperent, eaque nescirent, nec ubi nec qualia essent, funditus alii
 everterunt suas civitates, alii ipsi occiderunt." *Tusc. Disp.* iii. 2.
 When Tully wrote his Tusculan Disputations, Julius Cæsar had
 overturned the constitution of his country, and was then in the
 height of his power ; and Pompey had lost his life in the same
 pursuit of glory. CALTON.

Ver. 71. *They err, who count it glorious to subdue
 By conquest far and wide, &c.]* Here might be an
 allusion intended to LEWIS THE FOURTEENTH, who at this time
 began to disturb Europe, and whose vanity and ambition were

Large countries, and in field great battles win,
Great cities by assault : What do these worthies,
But rob and spoil, burn, slaughter, and enslave 75
Peaceable nations, neighbouring, or remote,
Made captive, yet deserving freedom more
Than those their conquerours, who leave behind
Nothing but ruin wheresoe'er they rove,

gratified by titles, such as are here mentioned, from his numerous parasites.

We may here compare *Paradise Lost*, B. xi. 691, &c.
And again, ver. 789, &c. of the same Book. DUNSTER.

Ver. 74. ————— *what do these worthies,*
But rob and spoil, &c. &c.] Thus Drummond, in
his Shadow of the Judgment;

“ All live on earth by *spoil*
“ Who most can savage, *rob*, ransack, blaspheme,
“ Is held most virtuous, hath a *worthy's* name.”

DUNSTER.

Ver. 75. *But rob and spoil, burn, slaughter, and enslave &c.]*
This description of the ravages of conquerours may have been
copied from some of the accounts of the barbarous nations that
invaded Rome. Ovid describes the Getæ thus *spoiling, robbing,*
slaying, enslaving, and burning, *Trist. III. El. x. 55, &c.*

DUNSTER.

This passage resembles the Governour of Pangor's reply to
Mendez Pinto, who attributes such acts as these to the *chance of*
war: “ What is this you say, replied he; can you maintain that
he that conquers, doth not rob? that he which useth force, *doth*
not kill? that he which oppresseth, *performs not the action of a*
tyrant?” See the Travels of Ferdinand Mendez Pinto, English
edit. fol. 1653, p. 183, and Spanish edit. fol. 1620, p. 287.
“ Negareys que quien conquista, no roba? &c.”

Ver. 78. ————— *who leave behind*

Nothing but ruin] “ Thus, *Joel, ii. 3.* “ The
land is as the garden of Eden before them, and *behind them* a

And all the flourishing works of peace destroy ; 80
 Then swell with pride, and must be titled Gods,
 Great Benefactors of mankind, Deliverers,
 Worship't with temple, priest, and sacrifice ?
 One is the son of Jove, of Mars the other ;
 Till conquerour Death discover them scarce men,
 Rolling in brutish vices, and deform'd, 86

desolate wilderests." And Gray, in his *Bard*, has a similar description finely expressed, where he speaks of the conquests of Edward the Black Prince in France.

———— " What terrors round him wait !

" Amazement in his van, with Flight combin'd,

" And Sorrow's faded form, and Solitude behind."

DUNSTER.

Ver. 81. ————— *and must be titled Gods,*

Great Benefactors of mankind, Deliverers,] The second Antiochus king of Syria was called Antiochus Θεός, or *the God* : and the learned author De Epoch. Syro. Macedonum, p. 109, speaks of a coin of Epiphanes inscribed Θεῷ Ἐπιφάνους. The Athenians gave Demetrius Poliorcetes, and his father Antigonus, the titles of Εὐεργέται, *Benefactors*, and Σωτῆρες, *Deliverers*.

CALTON.

Ver. 84. *One is the son of Jove, of Mars the other ;]* Alexander is particularly intended by the one, and Romulus by the other, who, though better than Alexander, founded his empire in the blood of his brother, and for his over-grown tyranny was at last destroyed by his own senate. NEWTON.

Ver. 86. *Rolling in brutish vices, and deform'd,]* Thus, in *Comus*, ver. 77.

" To roll with pleasure in a sensual flye."

To roll in vice is a mode of expression frequently used by Cicero. — " in domesticis est germanitatis stupris volutatus." *Oratio De Haruspice. Respons. 20.*

" Quis unquam nepos tam libere est cum scortis, quam hic cum fororibus volutatus ?" *Ibid. 27.* — " cum omnes in omni

Violent or shameful death their due reward.
 But if there be in glory aught of good,
 It may by means far different be attain'd,
 Without ambition, war, or violence ; 90
 By deeds of peace, by wisdom eminent,
 By patience, temperance : I mention still
 Him, whom thy wrongs, with faintly patience
 borne,
 Made famous in a land and times obscure ;
 Who names not now with honour patient Job ? 95
 Poor Socrates, (who next more memorable ?)
 By what he taught, and suffer'd for so doing,
 For truth's sake suffering death, unjust, lives now
 Equal in fame to proudest conquerours.

genere et factum et fugitum voluntur." Epist. Ad. Familiar. ix. 3. "Non iuramentum reliquisti? non amicos prodidisti? non parenti manus intulisti? non denique in omni dedicare voluntate?" Ad Herenn. iv. 19. DUNSTER.

Milton's expression bears a stronger resemblance to the following, in G. Wither's *Speculum, or Considering-Glass*, 1660, p. 69.

————— "without controul
 "They might in *brutish* lights at pleasure roul."

Ver. 92. *By patience, temperance :*] Not without an allusion perhaps to St. Peter's combination, II Pet. i. 6. "Add to knowledge temperance, and to temperance patience."

Ver. 96. *Poor Socrates, (who next more memorable ?)*

By what he taught, and suffer'd for so doing,

For truth's sake suffering death unjust, lives now

Equal in fame to proudest conquerours.] Milton here

does not scruple with Erasmus to place Socrates in the foremost rank of Saints ; an opinion more amiable at least, and agreeable to that spirit of love which breathes in the Gospel, than the

Yet if for fame and glory aught be done, 100
 Aught suffer'd ; if young African for fame
 His wasted country freed from Punick rage ;
 The deed becomes unprais'd, the man at least,
 And loses, though but verbal, his reward.
 Shall I seek glory then, as vain men seek, 105
 Oft not deserv'd ? I seek not mine, but his
 Who sent me ; and thereby witness whence I am.
 To whom the Tempter murmuring thus replied.
 Think not so flight of glory ; therein least
 Resembling thy great Father : He seeks glory, 110
 And for his glory all things made, all things

severe orthodoxy of those rigid textuaries, who are unwilling to allow salvation to the moral virtues of the Heathen. THYER.

Ver. 101. ———— *if young African for fame*

His wasted country freed from Punick rage ;] This shows plainly that he had spoken before of the elder Scipio Africanus ; for he only can be said with propriety to have *freed his wasted country from Punick rage*, by transferring the war into Spain and Africa, after the ravages which Hannibal had committed in Italy during the second Punick war. NEWTON.

Ver. 109. *Think not so flight of glory ;*] There is nothing throughout the whole poem more expressive of the true character of the Tempter than this reply. There is in it all the real falsehood of *th. father of lies*, and the glozing subtlety of an insidious deceiver. The argument is false and unsound, and yet it is veiled over with a certain plausible air of truth. The poet has also, by introducing this, furnished himself with an opportunity of explaining that great question in divinity, why God created the world, and what is meant by that glory which he expects from his creatures. This may be no improper place to observe to the reader the author's great art in weaving into the body of so short a work so many grand points of the Christian theology and morality. THYER.

Orders and governs ; nor content in Heaven
 By all his Angels glorified, requires
 Glory from men, from all men, good or bad,
 Wise or unwise, no difference, no exemption ; 115
 Above all sacrifice, or hallow'd gift,
 Glory he requires, and glory he receives,
 Promiscuous from all nations, Jew or Greek,
 Or barbarous, nor exception hath declar'd ;
 From us, his foes pronounc'd, glory he exacts. 120

To whom our Saviour fervently replied.
 And reason ; since his Word all things produc'd,
 Though chiefly not for glory as prime end,
 But to show forth his goodness, and impart
 His good communicable to every soul 125
 Freely ; of whom what could he less expect
 Than glory and benediction, that is, thanks,
 The flightest, easiest, readiest recompence
 From them who could return him nothing else,
 And, **not** returning that, would likeliest render 130

Ver. 118. *Promiscuous from all nations,*] The poet puts here into the mouth of the Devil the old notions of the apologists for Paganism. See *Thémistocle*, *Océan. de Rois*, *Lib. 1. Imp.* p. 160. WARBURTON.

Ver. 128. *The flightest, easiest, readiest recompence*] The same sentiment occurs in the *Paradise Lost*, *Book 46*.

“ What could he less than to afford him praise,

“ The easiest recompence, and pay him thanks.”

“ How due !” NEWTON.

Ver. 130. *And, not returning that,*] Here again Tickell and Fenton follow the corrupt reading of Tonson's edit. of 1707 and 1711, “ And, not returning *what*,” which, as Dr. Newton

Contempt instead, dishonour, obloquy ?
 Hard recompence, unfuitable return
 For so much good, so much beneficence !
 But why should Man seek glory, who of his own
 Hath nothing, and to whom nothing belongs, 135
 But condemnation, ignominy, and shame ?
 Who, for so many benefits receiv'd,
 Turn'd recreant to God, ingrate and false,

observes, spoils the sense ; and which he and Mr. Thyer corrected in their copies, before they had seen the first edition. But the genuine reading is restored in Tonson's edit. of 1747, in 12mo.

Ver. 138. ——— *recreant*] In Shakespeare's *King John*, where Constance reproaches the Duke of Austria with having deserted her cause, and being perjured and a coward, she says to him ;

“ Thou wear a lion's hide ? Doff it off for shame,

“ And hang a calf's skin on those *recreant* limbs.”

And Spenser, *Faery Queen*, ii. vi. 28.

“ Thou *recreant* knight.”

Where Mr. Warton observes that “ *recreant knight*” is a term of romance ; and cites the following passage from the *Morte Arthur*. “ Than said the knight to the king, thou art in my daunger whether me lyst to save thee or to slei thee ; and, but thou yield thee as overcome and *recreant*, thou shalt dye. As for death, said king Arthur, welcome be it when it cometh ; but as to yield me to thee as *recreant*, &c.”

Recreant, or *recreditus*, in the feudal signification imported the highest degree of treason, baseness, and cowardice. Du Cange says, “ probrosum adeo censuit vocabulum, ut illud describere noluerit Radulphus de Glanvilla.” DUNSTER.

Thus Milton in his *Prose-Works*, terms the Jew, a recreant :
 “ And like a *recreant* Jew calls for stones, &c.” p. 179, edit. 1698, vol. i.

Ibid. ——— ingrate and false,] Referring perhaps to his *Par. Lost*, B. iii. 97.

And so of all true good himself despoil'd ;
 Yet, sacrilegious, to himself would take 140
 That which to God alone of right belongs :
 Yet so much bounty is in God, such grace,
 That who advance his glory, not their own,
 Them he himself to glory will advance.

So spake the Son of God ; and here again 145
 Satan had not to answer, but stood struck
 With guilt of his own sin ; for he himself,
 Insatiable of glory, had lost all ;
 Yet of another plea bethought him soon.

Of glory, as thou wilt, said he, so deem ; 150
 Worth or not worth the seeking, let it pass.
 But to a kingdom thou art born, ordain'd
 To sit upon thy father David's throne,
 By mother's side thy father ; though thy right
 Be now in powerful hands, that will not part 155
 Easily from possession won with arms :
 Judæa now and all the Promis'd Land,

“ *Ingrate*, he had of me
 “ All he could have.”

Ver. 151. *Worth or not worth the seeking*,] In all the editions which I have seen, except the first, it is printed “ Worth or not worth *their* seeking ;” but, not knowing to whom *their* could refer, I imagined it should be “ Worth or not worth *thy* seeking :” but the first edition exhibits this reading “ Worth or not worth *the* seeking,” as Mr. Symphon proposed to read by conjecture. NEWTON.

This genuine reading is restored in Tonson's edition of 1747' in 12mo. The correctness of this edition makes it very valuable.

Reduc'd a province under Roman yoke,
 Obeys Tiberius ; nor is always rul'd
 With temperate fway ; oft have they violated 160
 The temple, oft the law, with foul affronts,
 Abominations rather, as did once
 Antiochus : And think'ft thou to regain
 Thy right, by fitting still, or thus retiring ?
 So did not Maccabeus : he indeed 165

Ver. 158. *Reduc'd a province nder Roman yoke,*] Judæa was reduced to the form of a Roman province, in the reign of Augustus, by Quirinius, or Cyrenius, then governor of Syria ; and Coponius, a Roman of the equestrian order, was appointed to govern it, under the title of Procurator. NEWTON.

Ver. 159. ——— *nor is always rul'd*
With temperate fway ;] The Roman government indeed was not always the most temperate. At this time Pontius Pilate was procurator of Judæa, and, it appears from history, was a most corrupt and flagitious governour. See particularly Philo, *de Legatione ad Caium*. NEWTON.

And Josephus speaks of the murders committed on the Jews by Pilate, *Antiq. Jud.* L. xviii. C. v. DUNSTER.

Ver. 160. ——— *oft have they violated*
The temple, &c.] Pompey, with several of his officers, entered not only into the holy place, but also penetrated into the holy of holies, where none were permitted by the law to enter, except the high-priest alone, once in a year, on the great day of expiation. Antiochus Epiphanes had before been guilty of a similar profanation. See II *Maccab.* C. v.

NEWTON.

Ver. 165. *So did not Maccabeus : &c.*] The Tempter had noticed the profanation of the temple by the Romans, as well as that by Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria ; and now he would infer, that Jesus was to blame for not vindicating his country against the one, as *Judas Maccabeus* had done, against the other.

Retir'd unto the defart, but with arms ;
 And o'er a mighty king so oft prevail'd,
 That by strong hand his family obtain'd,
 Though priests, the crown, and David's throne
 usurp'd,
 With Modin and her suburbs once content. 170
 If kingdom move thee not, let move thee zeal

He fled indeed into the wilderness from the persecutions of Antiochus, but there he took up arms against him, and obtained so many victories over his forces, that he recovered the city and sanctuary out of their hands, and his family was in his brother Jonathan advanced to the high priesthood, and in his brother Simon to the principality, and so they continued for several descents sovereign pontiffs and sovereign princes of the Jewish nation till the time of Herod the Great: though their father Mattathias, (the son of John, the son of Simon, the son of Asmonæus, from whom the family had the name of Asmoneans,) was no more than a priest of the course of Joarib, and dwelt at Modin, which is famous for nothing so much as being the country of the Maccabees. See *1 Maccab.* Josephus, Prideaux, &c.

NEWTON.

Ver. 171. *If kingdom move thee not,*] *Kingdom* here, like *regnum* in Latin, signifies *kingly state*, the *circumstances of regal power*; or, as our author in his political works writes, *kingship*.

DUNSTER.

Ibid. ————— *let move thee zeal*] This is a bolder Latinism than is quite consonant with English poetry. The same may be observed of the following passage, in the beginning of the ninth Book of *Par. Lost*.

————— " *Me, of these*
 " *Nor skill'd nor studious, higher argument*
 " *Remains.*"

And again, B. ii. 443,

————— " *what remains him left*
 " *Than unknown dangers and as hard escape ?*"

DUNSTER.

And duty ; zeal and duty are not flow,
 But on occasion's forelock watchful wait :
 They themselves rather are occasion best ;
 Zeal of thy father's house, duty to free 175
 Thy country from her Heathen servitude.
 So shalt thou best fulfil, best verify
 The Prophets old, who sung thy endless reign ;
 The happier reign, the sooner it begins : 179
 Reign then ; what canst thou better do the while ?
 To whom our Saviour answer thus return'd.
 All things are best fulfill'd in their due time ;
 And time there is for all things, Truth hath said.
 If of my reign prophetick Writ hath told,

Ver. 173. *But on occasion's forelock watchful wait :*] Spenser personifies Occasion, as an old hag with a grey forelock, *Faer. Qu. ii. iv. 4.*

And, in stanza 12, Sir Guyon

—————“ fast her hent
 “ By the hoare locks that hung before her eyes.”

Spenser likewise, *Sonnet 70*, gives Time the same forelock. Shakspeare, in his *Othello*, has

“ To take the safest occasion by the front.”

The Greek and Latin poets also describe occasion, i. e. time or opportunity, “ with a forelock.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 175, *Zeal of thy father's house,*] *Psaln lxiix. 9.* “ For the zeal of thine house hath eaten me up ;” which passage is applied in the New Testament (*John, ii. 17.*) to the zeal by our Lord for the honour of his Father's house, when he drove the buyers and sellers out of the temple. DUNSTER.

Ver. 183. *And time there is for all things, Truth hath said.*] “ To every thing there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the Heaven,” *Ecclef. iii. 1.* NEWTON.

That it shall never end, so, when begin, 185
 The Father in his purpose hath decreed ;
 He, in whose hand all times and seasons roll.
 What if he hath decreed that I shall first
 Be tried in humble state, and things adverse,
 By tribulations, injuries, insults, 190
 Contempts, and scorns, and snares, and violence,
 Suffering, abstaining, quietly expecting,
 Without distrust or doubt, that he may know
 What I can suffer, how obey ? Who best
 Can suffer, best can do ; best reign, who first 196
 Well hath obey'd ; just trial, ere I merit
 My exaltation without change or end.
 But what concerns it thee, when I begin
 My everlasting kingdom ? Why art thou
 Solicitous ? What moves thy inquisition ? 200
 Know'st thou not that my rising is thy fall,

Ver. 187. *He, in whose hand all times and seasons roll.*] " It is not for you to know the times and the seasons, which the Father hath put in his own power." *Acts* i. 7. NEWTON.

Ver. 189. *Be tried in humble state, and things adverse,*] *Sil. Ital.* iv. 605.

" *Explorant adversa viros.*" DUNSTER.

Ver. 195. ————— *best reign, who first*

Well hath obey'd.] Here probably the author remembered Cicero. " Qui bene imperat, paruerit aliquando necesse est, et qui modeste pareat, videtur, qui aliquando imperet, dignus esse." *De Leg.* iii. 2. The same sentiment occurs in Aristotle, *Polit.* iii. 4, vii. 14; and in Plato, *De Leg.* vi. as Urfinus and Davies have noted. NEWTON.

Ver. 201. *Know'st thou not that my rising is thy fall,*] Alluding to the rising and setting of opposite stars. Milton, in the

And my promotion will be thy destruction ?

To whom the Tempter, inly rack'd, replied.

Let that come when it comes ; all hope is lost

Of my reception into grace : what worse ? 205

For where no hope is left, is left no fear :

If there be worse, the expectation more

Of worse torments me than the feeling can.

I would be at the worst : worst is my port,

My harbour, and my ultimate repose ; 210

The end I would attain, my final good.

My error was my error, and my crime

My crime ; whatever, for itself condemn'd ;

And will alike be punish'd, whether thou 214

Reign, or reign not ; though to that gentle brow

Willingly could I fly, and hope thy reign,

From that placid aspect and meek regard,

first Book of this Poem, terms our Lord " our Morning-star,
then in his rise." DUNSTER.

Ver. 206. *For where no hope is left, is left no fear :*] Milton here, and in some of the following verses, plainly alludes to part of Satan's fine soliloquy, in the beginning of the fourth Book of the *Paradise Lost* ;

" So farewell hope, and, with hope, farewell fear !

" Farewell remorse ! All good to me is lost ;

" Evil, be thou my good !" THYER.

Ver. 217. *From that placid aspect*] Spenser, Shakspeare, and the poets of that time, I believe, uniformly wrote *aspect* thus accented on the second syllable ; as Milton has likewise always done in his *Paradise Lost*. I cannot forbear citing one instance on account of the exquisite beauty of the passage. It is a similar description of the same Divine Person, who had just been offering himself a ransom for man, B. iii. 266.

Rather than aggravate my evil state,
 Would stand between me and thy Father's ire,
 (Whose ire I dread more than the fire of Hell,) 220
 A shelter, and a kind of shading cool
 Interposition, as a summer's cloud.
 If I then to the worst that can be haste,
 Why move thy feet so slow to what is best,

" His words here ended, but his *meek aspect*
 " Silent yet spake, and breath'd immortal love
 " To mortal man."

And Vida makes Mary, in her Lamentation at the foot of the cross, particularly refer to our Lord's *placid*, or *meek*, aspect, *Congr.* v. 860.

" Heu! quem te, nate, aspicio? Tuam ille *serena*
 " *Luce magis facies apecta gressa?*" DUNSTER.

Ver. 219. *Would stand between me and thy Father's ire,* [Milton in his Ode *on the death of a fair infant*, has a similar expression, st. x.

" But oh! why didst thou not stay here below
 " To bless us with thy heaven-look'd innocence,
 " To shake his wrath whom sin hath made our foe,
 " To turn swift-rushing black perdition hence,
 " Or drive away the slaughtering pestilence,
 " To stand 'twixt us and our dejected parent?"

DUNSTER.

Ver. 221. ——— *a kind of shading cool*

Interposition, as a summer's cloud.] In the 25th chapter of Isaiah, as Mr. Dunster also observes, the prophet addressing God, terms him " a strength to the poor, a strength to the needy in his distress, a refuge from the storm, a shadow from the heat." And, in the succeeding verse, the interposition of God is illustrated by the same simile which the poet uses. " Thou shalt bring down the noise of strangers, as the heat in a dry place; even the heat with the shadow of a cloud."

Happiest, both to thyself and all the world, 225
That thou, who worthiest art, should'st be their
king?

Perhaps thou linger'st, in deep thoughts detain'd
Of the enterprize so hazardous and high;
No wonder; for, though in thee be united
What of perfection can in man be found, 230
Or human nature can receive, consider,
Thy life hath yet been private, most part spent
At home, scarce view'd the Galilean towns,
And once a year Jerusalem, few days'
Short sojourn; and what thence could'st thou
observe? 235

The world thou hast not seen, much less her
glory,
Empires, and monarchs, and their radiant courts,
Best school of best experience, quickest insight
In all things that to greatest actions lead.
The wisest, unexperienc'd, will be ever 240
Timorous and loth, with novice modesty,
(As he who, seeking asses, found a kingdom,)

Ver. 234. *And once a year Jerusalem,*] At the feast of the
passover. *Luke, ii. 41.* NEWTON.

Ver. 238. ————— *quickest insight*] In all the
editions, and indeed in Milton's own, it is printed "*quickest
in sight*:" but we cannot but think it an error of the writer
or printer, and prefer the emendation which Mr. Theobald, Mr.
Meadowcourt, and Mr. Thyer, have, unknown to each other,
proposed, viz. "*quickest insight*." NEWTON.

Tonson's edition of 1747 reads "*quickest insight*."

Ver. 242. (*As he who, seeking asses, found a kingdom,*)] Saul.
See *I Sam. ix. 20, 21.* NEWTON.

Irresolute, unhardy, unadventurous :

But I will bring thee where thou soon shalt quit
Those rudiments, and see before thine eyes 245
The monarchies of the earth, their pomp and
state ;

Sufficient introduction to inform

Thee, of thyself so apt, in regal arts,

And regal mysteries ; that thou may'st know

How best their opposition to withstand. 250

With that, (such power was given him then,)
he took

The Son of God up to a mountain high.

It was a mountain at whose verdant feet

A spacious plain, outstretch'd in circuit wide,

Lay pleasant ; from his side two rivers flow'd, 255

The one winding, the other straight, and left
between

Fair champain with less rivers intervein'd,

Ver. 253. *It was a mountain &c.*] The length of Mr. Dunster's important note on this passage, obliges me to tra for the curious description of this mountain to the end of the book.

Ver. 256. *The one winding, the other straight.*] Dr. Newton and Mr. Dunster observe, that Strabo describes the Euphrates passing through the country with a *winding stream*, ΕΥΦΡΑΤΗ ΠΛΗΘΟΥ, lib. xi. p. 521; and hence it is called "ὁ κυμαίνων Εὐφράτης" by Statius, and *flexuosa* by Martiana Capella.

With the same accuracy the Tigris is here term'd *straight*, being described as swift in its course, as an arrow, "ὡς ὅτε concitatus a celeritate, *Tigris* incipit vocari *ὁ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν Μετὰ φύγαν*," Plin. *Nat. Hist.* lib. vi. c. 27. And Dionysius calls it *εὐκαταμὴ* "ΕΚΑΤΑΤΟΕ *εὐκαταμή*, *Perieg.* v. 804.

Ver. 257. ———— *such less rivers intervein'd.*] The word *intervein'd* may here serve as a clue to lead us to a passage,

Then meeting join'd their tribute to the sea :
Fertile of corn the glebe, of oil, and wine ;

which was very probably in Milton's mind in this place. Quintus Curtius, having spoken of the great fertility of the country between the Euphrates and the Tigris, adds, "*Causa fertilitatis est humor, qui ex utroque amne manat, toto fere solo propter venas aquarum refudante.*" L. v. C. 1. DUNSTER.

Ver. 258. *Then meeting join'd their tribute to the sea :*] Strabo describes these two rivers, after having encircled Mesopotamia, joining their streams near Babylon, and flowing into the Persian Gulph, L. xi. p. 521. DUNSTER.

Milton here adorns his geographical exactness with a phrase from his beloved poetry, *Gen. Lib. c. xv. ft. 16.*

" Poi Damiatà scopre : e come porte

" *Al mar tributo di celesti humori*

" *Per fette il Nilo sue famose porte.*"

Ver. 259. *Fertile of corn the glebe, of oil, and wine ;*] Thus *Paradise Lost*, B. xii. 18 ;

" Labouring the soil, and reaping plenteous crop,

" *Corn, wine, and oil.*"

And Ovid, *Amor. II. xvi. 19 ;*

" *Terra ferax Cereus, multoque feracior uvæ ;*

" *Dat quoque bacciferam Pallada gratus ager.*"

Dr. Newton, conceiving this description of the fertility of the country to refer only or principally to Mesopotamia, cites the following passage from Dionysius, as copied here by Milton. The geographical poet had been speaking of the country between the Euphrates and the Tigris.

Οὐ μὲν τοι κείνης γε νομὸς ὠνόσαστο βότνης,

Οὐδ' ἔστις σύριγγι κερήμεχα Πάνα γιγαιων,

Μήλοισι ἀργαυλοῖσιν ἐφίσπειται· ἐδὲ μὲν ἔλην

Παντοῖον φυτοειγὸς ἀνὴρ ἀθιρίσαστο κάρπων.

Quintus Curtius likewise notices the peculiar fertility of the " fair champain," between the two rivers. " *Inter Tigrim*

With herds the pastures throng'd, with flocks
the hills ; 260

Huge cities and high-tower'd, that well might
seem

The seats of mightiest monarchs ; and so large
The prospect was, that here and there was room
For barren desert, fountainless and dry. 264

et Euphratem jacentia tam uberi et pingui solo sunt, ut a pastu repelli pecora dicantur, ne satietas perimat." L. v. 1. And Strabo terms Mesopotamia ἰβωρεῖς χώρα, καὶ ἰσχυρὴ, a country *abundant in pastures and rich vegetation*. L. xvi. p. 747. But the greater part of this "large prospect," at least of those countries which lay east of Mesopotamia as far as India, is well entitled to this description of fertility, either considered figurative, or literal ; as both ancient and modern accounts combine to show. DUNSTER.

Ver. 261. *Huge cities and high-tower'd,*] So also in the *Allegro*, v. 117.

"*Tower'd cities please us then.*"

Turrice urbes is very common amongst the Latin poets.

THYER.

Εἰσχυρὸς πόλις is no less common with the Greek authors, Thus Hesiod, *Scut. Herc.* v. 270.

———— Πάριξ δ' ἐτυήπτος πόλις ἀδάδω.

Whence, *Par. Lb.* B. xi. 640.

"*Cities of men with less gates and towers.*"

Virgil has "*turrigeræque urbes*," *Æn.* x. 253 ; and Ovid "*turritæ mœnibus*," *Amor.* III. viii. 48, and "*turriti muri*," *Epist. ex Pont.* III. vi. 40. But I do not know where to point out the exact epithet *turrita* as joined with *urbes*. DUNSTER.

Ver. 264. *For barren desert, fountainless and dry.*] *Fountainless*, a word of much effect, was probably suggested by the Greek ἀνδρῆς. Diodorus Siculus speaking of the Arabia Desert,

To this high mountain top the Tempter brought
Our Saviour, and new train of words began.

Well have we speeded, and o'er hill and dale,
Forest and field and flood, temples and towers,
Cut shorter many a league; here thou behold'st
Assyria, and her empire's ancient bounds, 270
Araxes and the Caspian lake; thence on
As far as Indus east, Euphrates west,
And oft beyond: to south the Persian bay,
And, inaccessible, the Arabian drouth:

terms it ἱρῶς καὶ ἀνδρῶν; and Strabo describes the parts of Mesopotamia, that lay most southward, ἀνδρῶν καὶ λυγρὰ ὄρηα.

Ver. 268. ————— temples and towers,] See Mr. Warton's note on Sonnet viii. 11.

Ver. 269. ————— here thou behold'st

Assyria, and her empire's ancient bounds,] The situation of Mount Niphates, it has been already observed, was particularly adapted for this view, in which the poet traces accurately the bounds of the Assyrian empire in its greatest extent; the river Araxes and the Caspian Lake to the north; the river Indus to the east; the river Euphrates to the west, and oft beyond as far as the Mediterranean: and the Persian Bay and the Deserts of Arabia to the south. DUNSTER.

Ver. 274. ——— inaccessible,] Solinus describes in a similar manner the most desert parts of Africa. Speaking of the boundaries of the province of Cyrene, he says, "A tergo barbarum varix nationes, et solitudo inaccessa." C. 30. DUNSTER.

Ibid. ————— the Arabian drouth:] This figure of speech is equally bold and of fine effect. We might suppose it suggested by Virgil's

"Hinc deserta sit regio." AEn. iv. 42.

Or by Lucan's "calidas Libyæ sitientis arenas." Or still more by a description of the wilderness of Barca in Silius Italicus, who terms it "Barce sitientibus arida venis,"

Here Nineveh, of length within her wall 275

But, by adopting the reading of the elder editions, we find the very phrase in a passage of the last-mentioned poet, xiv. 74.

"Hic, contra *Lilydamus* *fitem* Caurósque furentes,

"Cernit devexas Lilybeon nobile Chelas."

I cannot forbear inserting here a citation from a poet of our own country, contemporary with Milton, where a description of the "sandy desert" is given in the same bold style. I cite the passage more at large than is necessary, from an opinion that the whole of it must be acceptable to the reader of taste. It is taken from the *Address to the Deity*, which concludes the poems of *George Sandys*, printed in 1638, under the title of *A Paraphrase on divine Poems*.

"O, who hath tasted of thy clemency

"In greater measure, or more oft than I?

"My grateful verse thy goodness shall display,

"O thou that went'st along in all my way,

"To where the morning with pertumed wings

"From the high mountains of Parthæa springs;

"To that new-found out world, where sober night

"Takes from the Antipodes her silent flight;

"To those dark seas, where horrid winter reigns

"And binds the stubborn floods in icy chains;

"To Libyan wastes, *whence third refreshment affords,*

"And where swollen Nilus cools the lion's rage."

Sandys was the translator of Ovid. Part of this volume of poems consists of a *Paraphrase of the Psalms*; which Mr. Warton justly terms admirable. There is also a *Paraphrase of the Book of Job*, in so masterly a style, that it may be well doubted if any poet of the succeeding century has surpassed it in a similar attempt. DUNSTER.

Ver. 275. *Here Nineveh, &c.*] This city was situated on the Tigris; *of length, i. e. of circuit, within her wall several days journey*; according to Diodorus Siculus, lib. ii. its circuit was sixty of our miles, and in Jonah, ii. 3. it is said to be *an exceeding great city of three days journey*, twenty miles being the

Several days journey, built by Ninus old,
 Of that first golden monarchy the feat,
 And feat of Salmanassar, whose success
 Israel in long captivity still mourns ;
 There Babylon, the wonder of all tongues, 280

common computation of a day's journey for a foot-traveller : built by *Ninus old*, after whom the city is said to be called *Nineveh* ; of *that first golden monarchy the feat*, a capital city of the Assyrian empire, which the poet styles *golden monarchy*, probably in allusion to the *golden head* of the image in Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the four empires ; and *feat of Salmanassar*, who in the reign of Hezekiah king of Judah carried the ten tribes captive into Assyria seven hundred and twenty-one years before Christ, so that it might now be properly called a *long captivity*. NEWTON.

Ver. 277. — *that first golden monarchy*] *Golden* is here generally descriptive of the splendour of monarchy. It may refer to what is said in history of the magnificence of the kings of Persia, their *golden palaces*, *golden thrones*, *golden beds*, &c. See *Par. Lost*, B. ii. 4. *Golden* might also have a political reference to Milton's apprehensions of the great expences of monarchy ; with respect to which, in justifying his republican principles, he had said that " the trappings of a monarchy would set up an ordinary commonwealth." DUNSTER.

Ver. 280. *There Babylon, &c.*] As Nineveh was situated on the river Tigris, so was Babylon on the Euphrates ; *the wonder of all tongues*, for it is reckoned among the seven wonders of the world ; *as ancient as Nineveh*, for some say it was built by Belus, and others by Semiramis, the one the father, and the other the wife, of Ninus, who built Nineveh ; *but rebuilt by him*, i. e. whoever built it, it was rebuilt, and enlarged, and beautified, and made one of the wonders of the world by Nebuchadnezzar, (*Is not this great Babylon that I have built, &c.* Dan. iv. 30 ;) *who twice Judah led captive*, in the reign of Jehoiakim, 2 Kings, xxiv. and eleven years after in the reign of Zedekiah, and laid waste Jerusalem, 2 Kings, xxv ; in which

As ancient, but rebuilt by him who twice
 Judah and all thy father David's house
 Led captive, and Jerusalem laid waste,
 Till Cyrus set them free; Persepolis,
 His city, there thou seest, and Bactra there; 285
 Ecbatana her structure vast there shows,
 And Hecatompylos her hundred gates;
 There Susa by Choaspes, amber stream,

desolate condition it lay many years, till Cyrus set them free, and restored the Jews to their country again. *Ezra*, i. and ii.

NEWTON.

Ver. 284. ————— *Persepolis*.

His city, &c. } The city of Cyrus, if not built by him, yet by him made the capital city of the Persian empire; and *Bactra* there, the chief city of Bactriana a province of Persia, famous for its fruitfulness; mentioned by Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 136. NEWTON.

Ver. 286. *Ecbatana her structure vast there shows*, } Ancient historians speak of *Ecbatana*, the metropolis of Media, as a very large city. Herodotus compares it to Athens, L. i. C. 98; Strabo calls it a great city, L. ii; and Polybius, L. 10. says it greatly excelled other cities in riches and magnificence of buildings. NEWTON.

The walls of Ecbatana (*Judith*, C. i. V. 2,) were built with stones three cubits broad and six long; their height in the whole being seventy cubits, and their breadth fifty. Supposing the cubit to have been only a foot and half this made them one hundred and five feet high, and seventy-five broad. See *Pindeaus*, Part i. Book 1. DUNSTER.

Ver. 287. *And Hecatompylos her hundred gates*; } The name signifies a city with an hundred gates; and so the capital city of Parthia was called. *Strabo*, L. xi. p. 514. NEWTON.

Ver. 288. — *Susa by Choaspes*, } Susa, the Shushan of the Holy Scriptures, and the royal seat of the kings of Persia,

The drink of none but kings; of later fame,

who resided here in the winter and at Ecbatana in the summer, was situated on the river *Choaspes*, or *Eulæus*, or *Ulai* as it is called in Daniel; or rather on the confluence of these two rivers, which meeting at *Sufa* form one great river, sometimes called by one name, and sometimes by the other. NEWTON.

Dionysius describes the *Choaspes* flowing by *Sufa*, v. 1074.

——— παρὰ τὴν ῥαίῳν χθόνα Συσῶν. DUNSTER.

Ibid. ————— *amber stream*,] See Mr. Warton's note on *Comus*, v. 863.

Ver. 289. *The drink of none but kings;*] If we examine it as an historical problem, whether the kings of Persia alone drank of the river *Choaspes*, we shall find great reason to determine in the negative. We have for that opinion the silence of many authors, by whom we might have expected to have found it confirmed, had they known of any such custom. Herodotus, Strabo, Tibullus, Aufonius, Maximus Tyrius, Ariftides, Plutarch, Pliny the elder, Athenæus, Dionysius Periegetes, and Eustathius, have mentioned *Choaspes*, (or *Eulæus*), as the drink of the kings of Persia or Parthia, or have called it βασιλικὸν ὕδωρ *regia lympba*, but have not said that they alone drank of it. I say *Choaspes* or *Eulæus*, because some make them the same, and others counted them different rivers. The silence of Herodotus ought to be of great weight, because he is so particular in his account of the Persian affairs; and, next to his, the silence of Pliny, who had read so many authors, is considerable. Though it can hardly be expected that a negative should be proved any other way than from the silence of writers, yet so it happens that *Ælian*, if his authority be admitted, affords us a full proof that the water of *Choaspes* might be drunk by the subjects of the kings of Persia. Τάτε ἄλλα ἐφ' ὅδ' αἰσπερ τῷ Εἰρήνῃ πολυτελείας καὶ ἀλαζονείας ἀπὸ πλημμύρας, καὶ ὕδωρ ἡκολούθει τὸ ἐκ τῆς Χασσπης. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν τῇ ἰσχυρῇ τόπῳ ἐδύψησαν, ἐδίδωκε τῆς θεραπεύσεως ἡκούσης, ἐκνεύχθη τῷ τραϊοπεδῷ, εἰ τις ἔχει ὕδωρ ἐκ τῆς Χασσπης, ἵνα δὴ βασιλεὺς ποιῇ. Καὶ εἰρήθη τις βραχὺ καὶ τισι πῶς ἔχων. Ἐπειν οὖν τὸ τοῦ Εἰρήνης, καὶ εὐεργετὴν τοῖς δούλοις ἐβόμει, ὅτι αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς διψῆς, εἰ μὴ ἐκείνῳ εἰρήθη. *In the carriages which followed*

VOL. IV.

O

Built by Emathian or by Parthian hands, 290

Xerxes, there were abundance of things which served only for pomp and ostentation; there was also the water of Choaspes. The army being oppressed with thirst in a desert place, and the carriages not being yet come up, it was proclaimed that if any one had of the water of Choaspes, he should give it Xerxes to drink. One was found who had a little, and that not javcet. Xerxes drank it, and accounted him who gave it him a benefactor, because he had perished with thirst, if that little had not been found. Var. Hist. xii. 40. Mention is made indeed by Agathocles of a certain water, which none but Persian kings might drink; and if any other writers mention it, they take it from Agathocles. We find it in Athenæus: *Αγαθωνος ἐν Περσiais φέρον ἕναι καὶ χρυσὴν καλεσμένην ἑλάνη· ἡναι δὲ τὸτο λεῖψας ἰδομένηκοντα, καὶ μόνον πινὴν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἡ μόνον βασιλεῖα καὶ τὸν σπευδύβατον αὐτὸν τῶν παιδῶν τῶν δὲ ἀλλῶν ἐάν τις πίνῃ, θάνατός· ἡ ζημία.* Agathocles says that there is in Persia a water called golden; that it consists of seventy streams, that none drinks of it except the king and his eldest son, and that if any other person does, death is the punishment. It does not however appear, that the golden water and Choaspes were the same. Eustathius, having transcribed this passage from Agathocles, adds: *Ζησίαν δὲ ἐὶ καὶ τὸ Χεόσπιον εἶναι, ἐπεὶ ἰππὺν σφάλλαντος ὁ Περσὺς βασιλεὺς, ταυτὴν ἐπιτιμίαν εἶναι ἰσχυρίζεται.*—*Quare, whether the water of Choaspes, which the Persian king drank in his expeditions, was forbidden to all others under the same penalty.* Eustathius in Homer. *Iliad.* γ, p. 1301. Ed. Basil. It may be granted, and it is not at all improbable, that none besides the king might drink of that water of *Choaspes*, which was boiled and barreled up for his use in his military expeditions. Solinus indeed, who is a frivolous writer, says “*Choaspes ita dulciss est, ut Persici reges quamdiu intra ripas Persidis fluit solis sibi ex eo pocula vindicant.*” Milton therefore, considered as a poet, with whose purpose the fabulous suited best, is by no means to be blamed for what he has advanced; as even the authority of Solinus is sufficient to justify him. JORDAN.

See Mr. Warton's note on *Comas*, v. 912.

Ibid. ————— of later fame,

Built by Emathian or by Parthian hands, &c.] Cities.

The great Seleucia, Nisibis, and there
 Artaxata, Tereclon, Ctesiphon,
 Turning with easy eye, thou may'st behold.
 All these the Parthian, (now some ages past,

of later date, *built by Euxine hands*, that is, Macedonian; by the successors of Alexander in Asia. *The great Seleucia*, built near the river Tigris by Seleucus Nicator, one of Alexander's captains, and called *great* to distinguish it from others of the same name; *Nisibis*, another city upon the Tigris, called also Antiochia, *Antiochia quam Nisibin vocant*. Plin. vi. 16. *Artaxata*, the chief city of Armenia, seated upon the river Araxes, *justa Araxem Artaxate*. Plin. vi. 10. *Tereclon*, a city near the Persian bay, below the confluence of Euphrates and Tigris, *Tereclon infra confluentem Euphratis et Tigris*. Plin. vi. 28. *Ctesiphon*, near Seleucia, the winter residence of the Parthian kings. Strabo, L. xvi. p. 743. NEWTON.

Ver. 292. *Artaxata*,] Strabo, L. xi. p. 523, says that Artaxata was built by Hannibal, for Artaxas; who, after being general to Antiochus the Great, became king of Armenia.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 294. *All these the Parthian, &c.*] *All these cities*, which before belonged to the Seleucidæ or Syro-Macedonian princes, sometimes called *kings of Antioch*, from their usual place of residence, were now under the dominion of the Parthians, whose empire was founded by *Artabanus*, who revolted from Antiochus Theus, according to Prideaux, two hundred and fifty years before Christ. This view of the Parthian empire is much more agreeably and poetically described than Adam's prospect of the kingdoms of the world from the mount of vision in the Paradise Lost, xi. 385—411: but still the anachronism in this is worse than in the other: in the former Adam is supposed to take a view of cities many years before they were built, and in the latter our Saviour beholds cities, as Nineveh, Babylon, &c. in this flourishing condition many years after they were laid in ruins; but it was the design of the former vision to exhibit

By great Arfaces led, who founded first 295
That empire,) under his dominion holds,
From the luxurious kings of Antioch won.

what was future, it was not the design of the latter to exhibit what was past. NEWTON.

The immediate object of this Temptation was to awaken ambition in our blessed Lord, by showing him *all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them*, that is, the splendour of the great empires that had been, or still were in existence. These are showed by means of their principal cities, the extent and magnificence of which may be supposed to mark the great power and riches of the princes, that built or inhabited them :

“ Huge cities and high-tower’d, that well might seem

“ *The seats of mightiest monarchs ;*”

Thus, having traced the extensive bounds of the *ancient Assyrian Empire*, he exemplifies its splendour and importance in the description which he gives of *Nineveh* and *Babylon*, the two principal seats of its government. He next touches on the *Persian* and *Median* Empires, in noticing *Persepolis* and *Ecbatana* ; and thence by directing the attention to *Hecatompylos*, &c. makes a transition to the *Parthian* Empire, at that time the rival and formidable antagonist of the Roman power. — Whatever anachronism therefore there may be in this place, it is surely not introduced uselessly and unnecessarily, as Dr. Newton insinuates. DUNSTON.

Ver. 297. ——— *the luxurious kings of Antioch*] No particular luxury seems laid by history to the charge of Antiochus Theos, though it was the profligate conduct of Agathocles, or Andragoras, then Governor of Parthia under him, that incited the resentment of Arfaces, and was the cause of the revolt, and finally of the creation of the Parthian Empire. See Prideaux. *Part ii. Book 2.* The contest with Arfaces was afterwards carried on by Seleucus, the son of Antiochus ; against whom also no imputation of any luxurious excesses seem to be recorded. The next King of Syria who made any attempts to recover Parthia was Antiochus the Great, so named for his valour, prudence, beneficence, and other virtues, which he maintained unimpeached

And just in time thou com'st to have a view
Of his great power ; for now the Parthian king

till he was above fifty years old ; when he married a young woman, and totally changing his character, passed his whole time, as Livy describes him, L. 36, “ omisâ omnium rerum curâ, in conviviis et vinum sequentibus voluptatibus, ac deinde, ex fatigatione magis quam satietate earum, in fomno.” Before this he had however ceded Parthia and Hyrcania to Arsaces, son of the Arsaces who first headed the revolt, on condition of his becoming his confederate, and assisting him to recover the other provinces. But Milton had probably here in his mind the descriptions given in history of the luxury and profligacy of Antiochus Epiphanes ; whose abandoned conduct and dissipation was such, that instead of *Epiphanes*, or the Illustrious, which name he had assumed, he was generally known by that of *Epimanes*, or the Madman. See *Polyb. apud Athenæum. L. v. DUNSTER.*

Ver. 298. *And just in time thou com'st to have a view*

Of his great power ; &c.] Milton, considering very probably that a geographick description of kingdoms, however varied in the manner of expression and diversified with little circumstances, must soon grow tedious, has very judiciously thrown in this digressive picture of an army mustering for an expedition, which he has executed in a very masterly manner. The same conduct he has observed in the subsequent description of the Roman empire, by introducing into the scene prætors and proconsuls marching out to their provinces with troops, lictors, rods, and other ensigns of power, and ambassadors making their entrance into that imperial city from all parts of the world. There is great art and design in this contrivance of our Author's, and the more as there is no appearance of any, so naturally are the parts connected. *THYER.*

Compare the *Phænissæ* of Euripides, where Antigone has ascended the tower to behold the Grecian army, and her conductor says to her

ΕΙΣ ΚΑΙΡΟΝ Δ' ΕΒΗΣ,
Κινέμενοι γὰρ τυγχάνει Πίλασγικόν
Στρατεύμα—VER. 106. *DUNSTER.*

In Ctesiphon hath gather'd all his host 300
 Against the Scythian, whose incursions wild
 Have wafted Sogdiana ; to her aid
 He marches now in haste ; see, though from far,

Ver. 299. ————— for *now the Parthian king*

[*In Ctesiphon hath gather'd all his host, &c.*] Ctesiphon seems to have been the general place of rendezvous of the Parthian army, wherever their destination might be. Strabo says that the Parthian kings, who had before made Seleucia their winter residence, removed to Ctesiphon, because it was larger, and more calculated for considerable military preparations, and because they wished to save the inhabitants of Seleucia from the inconveniences of a numerous army in a place not sufficiently large to receive them. Ταῦτα δ' ἐπνεστο χειμαδὸς αἱ τὰ Παρθύων βασιλεῖς, φύσιν τε τῶν Σιθυρίων, ἵνα μὴ κατασφραγίστο ἐπὶ τῶν Σελεύκας πόλεω καὶ στρατιῶν διὰ μὲν ἐν Παρθύων πόλει αὐτὴ πόλις ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πόλεως διέχρηται, καὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν ἐπ' ἐκείνῃ κατασκευασμένη, καὶ τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ τὰ τεχνικά προσφόροις ἰσχυροῖς περιεσφραγίσται. Strabo. L. 16. p. 743. The passage is cited by Bp. Newton, apparently under a misapprehension of its true sense ; as he is sensible that the Parthian kings made Ctesiphon their winter residence, for the purpose of preventing the incursions of the Scythians. But by Σελεύκας πόλις, we must understand soldiers from their provinces bordering on Scythia. The mountainous Iberians, who make a part of the Parthian army in this place, are Scythians are particularly described by Strabo as resembling the Scythians in their manner of living, Σαυῶν ὅμοιος ζώειν. L. xi.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 302. ————— to her aid

[*He marches now in haste ;*] In the *Charon*, or ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΗΣΤΕΣ of Lucian, Mercury in a similar manner shews, and describes to Charon, Cyrus marching on his expedition against Croesus. Having explained who Cyrus is, and having related his former conquests, he says, καὶ ΝΥΝ δάσειται ἐπὶ Λυδίας ἰσχυρῶς, καὶ καθύπερθε τὴν Κρήσον ἄρχει ἀνάστην. C. 9.—This Dialogue of Lucian is not without its resemblance, in other respects, to this

His thousands, in what martial equipage
They issue forth, steel bows and shafts their
arms,

part of our Author's poem. Mercury, to gratify Charon in a short time with a full view of what is passing in the world, tells him that he must devise a "specular mount" on purpose, τὸν ἱκανὴν ΣΚΟΠΗΝ. This he does by piling Pelion on Ossa, and Oeta and Parnassus on these. He thence shews his friend an "outstretch'd prospect" of land and water, γῆν πολλήν, * * * * * καὶ ὄρη, καὶ ποταμούς. Charon afterwards desires to see Nineveh, Babylon, and other famous cities of antiquity. The first of these Mercury tells him has been so completely destroyed, that no traces of it remain: the second he shews him, and, it may be remarked, describes it εὐρυγῶς, and τὸν μέγαν περιβόλον (ἰχθυσα,) which is very similar to our Poet's "*Huge cities and high-tower'd,*" ver. 261. *supra*.

I take this opportunity of observing that Milton in the xith. Book of his *Paradise Lost*, where Michael describes, and afterwards shows to Adam, ver. 417, "the many shapes and ways of Death," seems more immediately to have had in his mind a part of this Dialogue; where Mercury having noticed to his companion, "Conquerour Death," (ὁ βέλτερος θάνατος,) putting a sudden stop to the ardent hopes and vain schemes of man, proceeds to point out and describe the satellites or ministers of this great power, in the many and various modes of death. He specifies first "diseases dire;"—"Ἀγγελοι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἰππῆρται μάλα πολλοὶ, ὡς ὄρεϊ, ἡπιάλοι, καὶ πυρετοὶ, καὶ φθῶαι, καὶ περιπνευμονίαι; to which he humorously adds, suicide, robbers, public executions, and tyrants, ξίφει, καὶ ληστῆρια, καὶ κώμια, καὶ δικασαί, καὶ τίμαιοι. C. 17. DUNSTER.

Ver. 305. ——— *steel bows and shafts their arms,*] Catullus terms the Parthians "*sagittiferisque Parthos,*" *Ep.* xi. And Dionysius distinguished them *as warlike and armed πῶθ βοται*, *Perieg.* v. 1040.

——— ἀρήιοι, ἀγκυλοτοξοί. DUNSTER.

Of equal dread in flight, or in pursuit;
 All horsemen, in which fight they most excel;
 See how in warlike muster they appear,
 In rhombs, and wedges, and half-moons, and
 wings.

Ver. 306. *Of equal dread in flight, or in pursuit;*

All horsemen, in which fight they most excel;] Lucan notices the skill of the Parthians in discharging their arrows at their pursuers, while they fled from them, lib. i. 229.

—— “*missi Parthi post terga sagitta:*”

Ovid refers to the same circumstance, *De Art. Amand.* i. 209, &c. And Virgil speaks of “*Fidentemque fuga Parthum*,” *Georg.* iii. 37.

Dionysius also describes the Parthians habituated from their infancy to archery and horsemanship, v. 1044. DUNSTER.

Ver. 309. *In rhombs, and wedges, and half moons, and wings,]*

The *Rhomb* or ῥομβοειδὴς φάλαγξ was a Battalia with four equal, but not rectangular, sides.—The ῥομβοειδής, or *cuneus*, was the rhomb divided in the middle, having three sides, representing a wedge, or the Greek letter Δ. It is described by Vegetius, L. iii. 29. And is mentioned by Virgil;

—— “*densi cuneis se quisque coactis*

“*Agglomerant*,” *Æn.* xii. 470.

And by Statius, *Thebaid*, x. 740;

“*Cornua nunc equitum, cuneos nunc ille pedestres.*”

The *half moon* was the ἡμικυκλὴς φάλαγξ. It was in the form of a half moon, the wings being turned backwards, and the main body presented to the enemy; it was also called κυρτὴ or κοίλη, being convex and hollow. Statius seems to have alluded to this form, *Theb.* v. 145;

“*Lunatumque putes agmen descendere,*”

And Silius Italicus has “*lunatis flexibus*,” iv. 319. The *wings* are the *κίρτα* of the Greeks, and the *ala* or *cornua* of the Latins.

DUNSTER.

He look'd, and saw what numbers numberless
The city gates out-pour'd, light-armed troops, 311

Ver. 310. ———— *what numbers numberless?*] A manner of expression, though much censured in our author, very familiar with the Greek poets. Thus Æschylus, *Prometh.* 904.

Ἀπόλεμος ὅδε γ' ὁ πολέμος, ἄπειρα

Πόλεμος ————

And *Perseæ*, 682.

ἰάεις ἄναες ἄναες, ———— πόλις, ἀπολις. THYER.

Thus Lucretius, iii. 799. and x. 1053. "*Innumero numero.*"

DUNSTER.

I will rescue the great poet from *censure*, by showing that the phrase was common as well in the prose, as in the poetry, of his own country. Thus Niccols, in the *Mirour for Mag.* 1610, p. 815, of an army :

"In *number numberlesse* with fresh supplies."

Again, in Yarrington's *Two Tragedies in One*, 1601.

—————"happy was that griefe

"Which hath abridg'd whole numbers, *numberlesse*."

Again, in G. Wither's *Mistresse of Philarete*, 1622.

"Saw rich beauties, I confesse,

"And in *number, numberlesse*."

Again, in Sir J. Davies's *Hymns to Astræa*, 1622.

"Recount these numbers *numberlesse*."

Again, in P. Fletcher's *Purp. Island*, 1633, c. ix. ft. 5.

"To keep this sieged town 'gainst numbers *numberlesse*."

And, in prose, see Sir Edward Dering's *Collection of Speeches*, 4to. 1642, p. 121. "The *numberlesse* numbers of Monks, Fryers, &c." And also Drummond's *Cypresse Grove*, edit. 1681, p. 431. "The *numberless* number of the assembly."

Ver. 311. *The city gates out-pour'd,*] So, in Virgil, *Æn.* xii. 121.

"Procedit legio Aufonidum, pilatâque plenis

"Agmina se fundunt portis; &c." DUNSTER.

In coats of mail and military pride ;
 In mail their horses clad, yet fleet and strong,
 Prauncing their riders bore, the flower and choice
 Of many provinces from bound to bound ; 315

Ver. 312. *In coats of mail and military pride ;*

In mail their horses clad, &c.] Plutarch, in his account of the defeat of Crassus, says that the Parthians, on a sudden throwing off the covering of their armour, seemed all on fire from the glittering brightness of their helmets and breast-plates, which were made of *Margian* steel, and from the brass and iron trappings of their horses.—And Justin, speaking of the Parthians, describes them and their horses completely armed, L. xli. C. 2.

We may compare, with our author's description in this place, a passage of Claudian, *In Rufin.* ii. 351.

“ Hic ultrix acies ornata fulgida Martis

“ Explicuit cuneos. Pedites in parte sinistra

“ Constitunt ; equites illuc præsentia cursum

“ Ora reluctantur pressis sedare lapatis.

“ Hinc alii sævum cristato vertice nutant,

“ Et tremulos humeris gaudent vibrare colores,

“ Quos operit formatque chalybs. Conjuncta per artem

“ Flexilis inductis animatur lamina membris,

“ Horribilis visu. Credas simulacra moveri

“ Ferrea, cognatæque viros spicere metallo.

“ Par uestitus equis ; ferrata fronte minantur,

“ Ferratisque levant securi vulnere arces.” DUNSTON.

Ver. 315. *Of many provinces from bound to bound ;*] He had before mentioned the principal cities of the Parthians, and he now recounts several of their provinces. *Arachosia* near the river Indus, μέχρι τῆ Ἰνδοῦ πλάγῃ τεταμένη, Strabo, L. xi. p. 516. *Candaor*, not *Gandaor*, as in some editions ; I suppose the *Candari*, a people of India, mentioned by Pliny, L. vi. Sect. 18. These were provinces to the east ; and to the north *Margiana* and *Ihyrcania*, Strabo, L. ii. p. 72 ; and mount *Caucasus*, and *Iberia*, which is called *dark*, as the country abounded with forests. See Tacitus, *Annal.* vi. 34. NEWTON.

From Arachofia, from Candaor east,
 And Margiana to the Hyrcanian cliffs
 Of Caucasus, and dark Iberian dales ;
 From Atropatia and the neighbouring plains
 Of Adiabene, Media, and the south 320
 Of Sufiana, to Balfara's haven.
 He saw them in their forms of battle rang'd,

Ver. 317. ————— *the Hyrcanian cliffs*

Of Caucasus, and dark Iberian dales ;] Shirvan and Daghestan, or *The country of rocks*, are those provinces which Milton calls "the Hyrcanian cliffs of *Caucasus*, &c."

SIR W. JONES.

Ver. 319. *From Atropatia and the neighbouring plains*

Of Adiabene, Media, and the south

Of Sufiana, to Balfara's haven.] This description

of the Parthian provinces moves nearly in a circle. It begins with Arachofia east ; then advances northward to Margiana, and from thence, turning westward, proceeds to Hyrcania, Iberia, and the Atropatian or northern division of Media. Here it turns again southward, and carries us to Adiabene, or the western part of Babylonia, which, as Dr. Newton observes, Strabo (L. xvi. p. 745,) describes as a *plain country*, τῆς μὲν ἐν Ἀδριακῆς ἡ πλεῖστη πεδιάς ἐστὶ ; then, passing through part of Media, it concludes with Sufiana, which extended southward to the Persian Gulph, called *Balfara's haven*, from the Port of Balsera, Bassorah, or Bassorah. DUNSTER.

To the West of *Pars* is the Province of *Kbuzistan*, which the Greeks call *Sufiana* ; it has no mountain in it, but consists wholly of large plains. It has part of *Persian Irak* to the North, the Gulph to the South ; and it extends westward as far as the plains of Wáffet and the port of *Bafra*, whence Milton says "the south of Sufiana to *Balfara's haven*." But he pronounces the word *Bafra* very improperly, and makes also a considerable mistake, in putting into the mouth of the Tempter the name of a city, which *was not built, till six hundred years after the Temptation*.

SIR W. JONES.

How quick they wheel'd, and flying behind them
 shot
 Sharp fleet of arrowy showers against the face

Ver. 324. *Sharp fleet of arrowy showers*] Mr. Richardson observes that this is not unlike Virgil's

———— “fundunt simul undique tela

“*Cerebra nitens ritu.*” *Æn.* ii. 610.

To which we may add another similar passage, *Æn.* xii. 284.

———— “it toto turbida celo

“*Tempestas telorum, ac feruens ingruit imber.*”

The “*arrowy hail*,” or “*arrowy shower*” was a figure of speech not uncommon with the Roman prose writers as well as poets. Thus Ammianus Marcellinus, “*ritu grandinis undique convolantibus telis.*” L. xiv. C. 10. P. 49. Ed. Gronov. Fol. Spenser has “*shower and hail of arrows*,” F. Q. v. iv. 38.

DUNSTER.

Similar phrases are in Drayton's *Polyolbion*, S. viii. p. 115, ed. 1622, and in the *Mirour for Mag.* p. 644, ed. 1610. Nor should the Angel's tremendous prediction in *Par. Lost* be unnoticed, B. vi. 543.

———— “this day will pour down,

“If I conjecture aught, no drizzling *shower*,

“But rattling *storm of arrows* barb'd with fire.”

But Milton, in this passage of *Par. Regained*, had probably P. Fletcher in view, *Purp. Isl.* c. xi. st. 47.

“And in their course oft would they turn behinde,

“And with their glancing darts their hot pursuers blinde.

48.

“As when by Russian Volgha's frozen banks

“The false-back *Tartars* fear with cunning feigne,

“And, coasting fast away in *flying* ranks,

“Oft backward turn, and from their bores deaven rain

“While *storms of darts*; so do they *flying* fight:

“And what by force they lose, they winne by sleight;

“Conquer'd by standing by, and *conquerours by flight.*”

Of their pursuers, and overcame by flight; 325
 The field all iron cast a gleaming brown:
 Nor wanted clouds of foot, nor on each horn
 Cuirassiers all in steel for standing fight,

Ver. 326. *The field all iron cast a gleaming brown:*] Dr. Newton observes that this line greatly exceeds Fairfax's, *Tasso*, c. i. st. 64.

“ Embattailed in walls of *iron brown* ;”

and even a very fine passage in Virgil, which I rather conceive Milton to have had in his mind in this place, *Æn.* xi. 601.

————— “ *tum latè ferreus hastis*

“ *Horret ager, campique armis sublimibus ardent.*”

But I have met with a passage more immediately parallel in Euripides, who literally describes his field *all brass*, in the same scene of the *Phœnix*, in which I have noted a coincidence of expression with ver. 298 *supr.*

————— KATAXAAXON AIHAN

ΠΕΔΙΟΝ αὐτῶν. DUNSTER.

Ver. 327. ——— *clouds of foot*,] So we have in Homer, *Il.* iv. 274. Νεφέες ποδῶν; and in Virgil, *Æn.* vii. 793. *nimbus peditum*.—But as Mr. Thyer observes with me, this verse is not very consistent with what goes before, v. 307.

“ *All horsemen*, in which fight they most excell;”

nor with what follows to the same purpose, v. 344.

“ Such, and so numerous, was their *chivalry*.”

NEWTON.

Mr. Dunster observes, that by *horsemen* Milton meant only skilled in the management of a horse, as every Parthian was; and by no means that they never engaged except on horseback.—And by *chivalry* he means, as I have already remarked, the army in general, like the Italian *cavalleria*. See note on *Par. Lost*, B. i. 307.

Ver. 328. *Cuirassiers all in steel for standing fight*,] Sallust, *Fragment.* L. iv. speaks of “ *Equites Cataphracti ferrea omni*

Chariots, or elephants indors'd with towers
Of archers ; nor of labouring pioneers 330

speciē.—Similar to the Cataphracts of the Romans were the κλιθαρῆς of the Persians ; whom the Author of the *Glossarium Nomicum* describes, κλοπιδεζοι, *all in steel.* DUNSTER.

Hence perhaps the phrase, so common in our old poetry, *clad in complete steel.* See note on *Cornus*, v. 421. So, in *The Battell of Alcazar*, 1594.

“ That *clads* himselſe in coat of hammerd *ſteele.*”

And, in Harington's *Orl. Fur.* c. xlii. ſt. 51. “ A knight *all arm'd* in ſhining *ſteel.*”

Ver. 329. ——— *elephants indors'd with towers*] Ammianus Marcellinus ſpeaks of elephants in the Perſian army, I. 24. —Pliny mentions them bearing towers with ſixty ſoldiers on them, “ turr̄iti cum ſexagenis propugnatoribus,” viii. 7.

Silius Italicus, ſpeaking of elephants bearing towers, terms them *turr̄itæ moleſ*, and adds,

————— “ propugnacula dorſo

“ Bellua nigranti geſtans, ceu mobilis agger,

“ Nutat, et erectos attollit ad æthera muros.” ix. 239.

I find the verb *indorſe* uſed in the ſame ſenſe by Jonſon, in an *Epigram to William Earl of Newcaſtle*, upon his horſemanſhip :

“ Nay, ſo your ſeat his beauties did *enforſe*,

“ As I began to with myſelf a horſe.” DUNSTER.

See alſo the old tragedy, *The Warres of Cornus*, 1594, where “ *Elephants with caſtles on their backs*” are mentioned as part of the army ; and their utility, in an engagement, is deſcribed in the eight ſucceeding verſes. Elephants are alſo indorſed with towers, in Arioſto, *Orl. Fur.* c. xl. ſt. 22.

Ver. 330. ——— *of labouring pioneers*

A multitude, with ſpades and axes arm'd] Thus in the *Paradiſe Loſt*, B. i. 675,

————— “ bands

“ Of pioneers, with ſpade and pick-axe arm'd.”

NEWTON.

A multitude, with spades and axes arm'd
 To lay hills plain, fell woods, or valleys fill,
 Or where plain was raise hill, or overlay
 With bridges rivers proud, as with a yoke ;
 Mules after these, camels and dromedaries, 335
 And waggons, fraught with útenfils of war.
 Such forces met not, nor so wide a camp,
 When Agrican with all his northern powers
 Besieg'd Albracca, as romances tell,

Perhaps the poet here remembered a passage in Shakspere's
Venus and Adonis ;

“ There might you see the *labouring pioneer*.”

Ver. 333. ————— or *overlay*

With bridges rivers proud, as with a yoke ;] Alluding probably to Æschylus's description of Xerxes's bridge over the Hellespont, *Perse*, 71.

Πολύγομφον ὄδισμα

Ζυγὸν ἀμφιβαλὼν αὐχίν στίτυ. *THYER.*

The river Araxes is termed by Virgil, *Æn.* viii. 728. “ *pon-tem indignatus Araxes*,” from its carrying away, by a violent inundation, a bridge which Alexander had just built over it.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 337. *Such forces met not, nor so wide a camp,*

When Agrican with all his northern powers

Besieg'd Albracca, &c.] What Milton here alludes to, is related in Boiardo's *Orlando Inamorato*, L. i. c. 10. The number of forces said to be there assembled is incredible, and extravagant even beyond the common extravagancy of romances. Agrican the Tartar king brings into the field no less than two millions two hundred thousand ;

“ Ventidua centinaia di migliara

“ Di cavalier havea quel Rè nel campo,

“ Cofa non mai udita”

and Sacripante the king of Circassia, who comes to the assistance of Gallaphrone, three hundred and eighty-two thousand. It

The city of Gallaphrone, from whence to win 340
 The fairest of her sex Angelica,
 His daughter, fought by many prowest knights,

must be acknowledged, I think, by the greatest admirers of Milton, that the impression which romances had made upon his imagination in his youth, has in this place led him into a blameable excess. Not to mention the notorious fabulousness of the fact alluded to, which I doubt some people will censure in a poem of so grave a turn, the number of the troops of Agrican &c. is by far too much disproportioned to any army, which the Parthian king by an historical evidence could be supposed to bring into the field. THYER.

Milton thought it not improper to make an allusion of the same nature in his *Par. Lost*, B. i. 580.

Ver. 337. *Such forces met not, &c.*] So, in *Par. Lost*, B. i. 573.

————— “ for never, since created man,
 “ *Met such imbodyed force.*”

And Lucan, *Pharsal.* iii. 288.

————— “ *coiere nec unquam*
 “ Tam variæ cultu gentes, tam dissona vulgi
 “ Ora.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 341. *The fairest of her sex Angelica,*] This is that Angelica who afterwards made her appearance in the same character in Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, which was intended as a continuation of the story, which Boiardo had begun. As Milton fetches his simile from a romance, he adopts the terms used by these writers, viz. *prowest* and *Paynim*. THYER.

Ver. 342. ————— *prowest knights,*] Spenser, *Faer. Qu.* ii. viii. 18.

“ For yonder comes *the prowest knight* alive,
 “ Prince Arthur flowre of grace and nobileffe.”

Prowest is the superlative of *provu*, from the old French *prenx*, valiant. *Preux chevalier* is the old term for the Heroes of Romance. The French writers of chivalry speak of the “ nine worthies” under the title of *les neuf preux*. DUNSTER.

Both Paynim, and the peers of Charlemain.
 Such and ſo numerous was their chivalry :
 At fight whereof the Fiend yet more preſum'd, 345
 And to our Saviour thus his words renew'd.

That thou may'ſt know I ſeek not to engage
 Thy virtue, and not every way ſecure
 On no ſlightg rounds thy ſafety ; hear, and mark,
 To what end I have brought thee hither, and
 ſhown 350
 All this fair fight : Thy kingdom, though foretold
 By Prophet or by Angel, unleſs thou
 Endeavour, as thy father David did,
 Thou never ſhalt obtain ; prediction ſtill
 In all things, and all men, ſuppoſes means ; 355
 Without means us'd, what it predicts revokes.
 But, ſay thou wert poſſeſs'd of David's throne,
 By free conſent of all, none oppoſite,
 Samaritan or Jew ; how could'ſt thou hope
 Long to enjoy it, quiet and ſecure, 360
 Between two ſuch enclosing enemies,
 Roman and Parthian ? Therefore one of theſe
 Thou muſt make ſure thy own ; the Parthian firſt
 By my advice, as nearer, and of late
 Found able by invaſion to annoy 365

Ver. 343. *Both Paynim, and the peers of Charlemain.*
Such and ſo numerous was their chivalry :] Mil-
 ton, as Mr. Thyer obſerves, is ſtill fond of the fables of Ro-
 mance, and in referring to them retains its language. See alſo
Paradiſe Loſt, B, i. 586, and 765. DUNSTER.

Thy country, and captive lead away her kings,
 Antigonus and old Hyrcanus, bound,
 Maugre the Roman : It shall be my task
 To render thee the Parthian at dispose,
 Choose which thou wilt, by conquest or by
 league : 370

By him thou shalt regain, without him not,
 That which alone can truly re-install thee
 In David's royal seat, his true successeur,
 Deliverance of thy brethren, those ten tribes,

Ver. 366. ———— *and captive lead away her kings,
 Antigonus and old Hyrcanus, bound,*] Here seems to be a slip of memory in our Author. The Parthians indeed led *Hyrcanus* away captive to Seleucia, after his eyes were put out, and when he was past seventy years of age, so that he might well be called *old Hyrcanus*; but instead of leading away *Antigonus* captive, they constituted him king of the Jews, and he was afterwards deprived of his kingdom by the Romans. See *Josephus Antiq.* Lib. 14. cap. 13. *De Bell. Jud.* Lib. 1. cap. 13. But it should be considered that Milton himself was old and blind, and composing from memory he might fall into such a mistake, which may be pardoned among so many excellences. NEWTON.

Dr. Newton's observation on the mistake of our "old blind" poet, is here rather unfortunate; as he himself, with his eyes open, seems to have fallen into a considerable mistake in this note, by describing *Hyrcanus* as having his eyes put out, which does not appear to have been the case. His ears were cut off by his rival Antigonus, (See *Joseph. Antiq. Jud.* xiv. 13.) to render him incapable, when maimed in person, of filling the office of High Priest; but, (L. xv. C. 6. Sect. 14. where the various misfortunes that befall *Hyrcanus* are particularly recited,) nothing is said of his eyes being put out. DUNSTER.

Ver. 374. ———— *those ten tribes,
 Whose offspring in his territory yet serve,
 In Habor, and among the Medes dispers'd;*] These

Whose offspring in his territory yet serve, 375
 In Habor, and among the Medes dispers'd :
 Ten sons of Jacob, two of Joseph, lost
 Thus long from Israel, serving, as of old
 Their fathers in the land of Egypt serv'd,
 This offer sets before thee to deliver. 380
 These if from servitude thou shalt restore
 To their inheritance, then, nor till then,
 Thou on the throne of David in full glory,
 From Egypt to Euphrates, and beyond,

were the ten tribes, whom Shalmaneser king of Assyria, carried captive into Assyria, "*and put them in Halab and in Habor by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes,*" II Kings, xviii. 11; which cities were now under the dominion of the Parthians. NEWTON.

Ver. 377. *Ten sons of Jacob, two of Joseph,*] The ten captive tribes of the Israelites were those of Reuben, Simeon, Zebulon, Issachar, Dan, Gad, Asher, Napthali, Ephraim and Manasses. Only eight of these were sons of Jacob; the two others were the sons of Joseph. I would suppose therefore that the Poet meant to give it,

"*Eight sons of Jacob, two of Joseph lost.*"

Otherwise he must have included, in the *ten* sons of Jacob, both Levi and Joseph. The Levites, it is true, did not form a distinct tribe, nor had any possessions allotted them; but, being carried into captivity with the other tribes, amongst whom they were scattered, Levi might be referred to among the lost sons of Jacob. It seems however quite incorrect to refer to Joseph, as the head of a tribe, when he was really merged in the tribes of his two sons Ephraim and Manasses. DUNSTER.

Ver. 384. *From Egypt to Euphrates,*] That is the kingdom of Israel in its utmost extent; for thus the land was promised to Abraham, Gen. xv. 18. "*Unto thy seed have I given this land,*

Shalt reign, and Rome or Cæsar not need fear. 385

To whom our Saviour answer'd thus, unmov'd.
 Much ostentation vain of fleshly arm
 And fragile arms, much instrument of war,
 Long in preparing, soon to nothing brought,
 Before mine eyes thou hast set; and in my ear 390
 Vented much policy, and projects deep
 Of enemies, of aids, battles and leagues,
 Plausible to the world, to me worth nought.
 Means I must use, thou say'st, prediction else
 Will unpredict, and fail me of the throne: 395

from the river of Egypt, unto the great river, the river Euphrates:”
 and the extent of Solomon's kingdom is thus described, *I Kings*,
 iv. 21. NEWTON.

Ver. 387. *Much ostentation vain of fleshly arm*] “Fleshly
 arm” is scriptural. “With him is an *arm of flesh*, but with us
 is the Lord our God, to help us, and to fight our battles.”
II Chron. xxxii. 8. and see *Jer.* xvii. 5.

Spenser has, *Faer. Qu.* i. x. 1.

“What man is he that boasts of *fleshly might*?”

DUNSTER.

“*Much ostentation vain of fleshly arm*” resembles also the
 striking expression of St. Paul; “*Vainly puffed up by his fleshly*
mind,” *Col.* ii. 18.

Ver. 388. ——— *much instrument of war*

Long in preparing,] “*Totius belli instrumento et*
apparatu.” Ciceron. *Academic.* ii. 1. DUNSTER.

Ver. 394. ——— *prediction else*

Will unpredict,] This refers to what the Tempter
 had said before, ver. 354, where he had fallaciously applied the
 argument, that the requisite reliance on divine providence does
 not by any means countenance a supine negligence, and a dere-
 liction of all personal exertions. Mr. Thyer censures the manner
 of speaking here, as too light and familiar for the dignity of the

My time, I told thee, (and that time for thee
 Were better farthest off,) is not yet come :
 When that comes, think not thou to find me slack
 On my part aught endeavouring, or to need
 Thy politick maxims, or that cumbersome 400
 Luggage of war there shown me, argument
 Of human weakness rather than of strength.
 My brethren, as thou call'st them, those ten tribes
 I must deliver, if I mean to reign
 David's true heir, and his full scepter sway 405
 To just extent over all Israel's sons.
 But whence to thee this zeal ? Where was it then
 For Israel, or for David, or his throne,
 When thou stood'st up his tempter to the pride

speaker, but it strikes me as censurable not so much for the lightness, as for the quaintness, of the expression, and somewhat of that jingling play upon words, of which our author was certainly too fond. To *unpredict* is something like to *uncreate*. See *Par. Lost*, B. v. 895, and B. ix. 943. DUNSTER.

Ver. 396. *My time* ————— *is not yet come :*] John vii. 6.
 NEWTON.

Ver. 401. ————— *argument*
Of human weakness rather than of strength.] It is a proof of human weakness, as it shows that man is obliged to depend upon something extrinsic to himself, whether he would attack his enemy or defend himself. It alludes to the common observation, that Nature has furnished all creatures with weapons of defence, except man. See Anacreon's *Ode* on this thought.

THYER.

Ver. 409. *When thou stood'st up his tempter &c.*] Alluding to I Chron. xxi. 1. "And Satan stood up against Israel, and provoked David to number Israel." Milton, we see, considers it

Of numbering Israë!l, which cost the lives 410
 Of threeſcore and ten thouſand Iſraelites
 By three days peſtilence? Such was thy zeal
 To Iſrael then; the ſame that now to me!
 As for thoſe captive tribes, themſelves were they

not as the advice of any evil counſellor, as ſome underſtand the word *Satan*, but as the ſuggeſtion of the firſt author of evil: and he expreſſes it very properly by *the pride of numbering Iſrael*; for the beſt commentators ſuppoſe the nature of David's offence to conſiſt in pride and vanity, in making fleſh his arm, and conſiding in the number of his people. And for this three things were propoſed to him by the prophet, three years famine, or three months to be deſtroyed before his enemies, or three days peſtilence; of which he choſe the latter. "*So the Lord ſent peſtilence upon Iſrael, and there fell of Iſrael ſeventy thouſand men,*" ver. 14. NEWTON.

Ver. 414. *As for theſe captive tribes, &c.*] The captivity of the ten tribes was a puniſhment owing to their own idolatry and wickedneſs. *They fell off from God to worſhip calves*, the golden calves which Jeroboam had ſet up in Bethel and in Dan, and which the poet calls *the deniers of Egypt*; for it is probable, (as ſome learned men have conjectured,) that Jeroboam, having converſed with the Egyptians, ſet up theſe two calves in imitation of the two which the Egyptians worſhipped, the one called Apis at Memphis the metropolis of the upper Egypt, and the other called Mnevis at Hierapolis the metropolis of the lower Egypt. *Baal next and Aſhtaroth*. Ahab built an altar and a temple for *Baal*, I Kings, xvi. 32. and at the ſame time probably was introduced the worſhip of *Aſhtaroth*, the *Goddeſs of the Zidonians*, I Kings xi. 5. For Jezebel, Ahab's wife, who prompted him to all evil, was *the daughter of Ethbaal king of the Zidonians*, I Kings, xvi. 31. And, by *the prophets of the groves* (I Kings, xviii. 19.), Mr. Selden underſtands the prophets of *Aſhtaroth* or *Aſtarte*: and *the groves under every green tree*, II Kings, xvii. 10. ſhould be tranſlated *Aſhtaroth under every green tree*. See Selden *de Diâ Syriâ Syntag.* ii. cap. 12. But for the wickedneſs and

Who wrought their own captivity, fell off 415
 From God to worship calves, the deities
 Of Egypt, Baal next and Ashtaroth,
 And all the idolatries of Heathen round,
 Besides their other worse than heathenish crimes ;
 Nor in the land of their captivity 420
 Humbled themselves, or penitent besought
 The God of their forefathers ; but so died
 Impenitent, and left a race behind
 Like to themselves, distinguishable scarce
 From Gentiles, but by circumcision vain ; 425
 And God with idols in their worship join'd.
 Should I of these the liberty regard,
 Who, freed, as to their ancient patrimony,

idolatry of the Israelites, and their rejection thereupon, and still continuing impenitent in their captivity, see *II Kings*, xvii. and the prophets in several places. NEWTON.

Ver. 428. *Who, freed, as to their ancient patrimony,
 Unhumbled, unrepentant, unreform'd,
 Headlong would follow ; and to their Gods perhaps
 Of Bethel and of Dan ?*]

There is some difficulty and obscurity in this passage ; and several conjectures and emendations have been offered to clear it, but none, I think, entirely to satisfaction. Mr. Symphon would read *Headlong would fall off, and &c.* or *Headlong would fall, &c.* But Mr. Calton seems to come nearer the poet's meaning. Whom or what would they follow, says he ? There wants an accusative case ; and what must be understood to complete the sense can never be accounted for by an ellipsis, that any rules or use of language will justify. He therefore suspects by some accident a whole line may have been lost ; and proposes one, which he says may serve at least for a commentary to explain the sense, if it cannot be allowed for an emendation.

Unhumbled, unrepentant, unreform'd, 429
 Headlong would follow ; and to their Gods perhaps
 Of Bethel and of Dan ? No ; let them serve

“ *Their fathers in their old iniquities*

“ *Headlong would follow, &c.*”

Or is not the construction thus, *Headlong would follow as to their ancient patrimony, and to their Gods perhaps, &c.* ? NEWTON.

There is somewhat of obscurity here, it must be allowed ; but I conceive our author to have many passages that are more implicate. The sense seems to be this ; “ Who, if they were freed from that captivity, which was inflicted on them as a punishment for their disobedience, idolatry, and other vices, would return to take possession of their country, as something to which they were justly entitled, and of which they had been long unjustly deprived ; without shewing the least sense either of their former abandoned conduct, or of God’s goodness in pardoning and restoring them. This change in their situation would produce none whatever in their conduct, but they would retain the same hardened hearts, and the same wicked dispositions as before, and most probably would betake themselves to their old idolatries and other abominations.”—The expression *headlong would follow* seems allusive to brute animals hurrying in a gregarious manner to any new and better pasture ; and *headlong* might be particularly suggested by Sallust’s description of irrational animals, “ *pecora, quæ natura præce, atque ratione carentia finxit.*”—If a correction of the text be thought necessary, I should prefer,

“ Who, freed as to their ancient patrimony,

“ Unhumbled, unrepentant, unreform’d,

“ Headlong would *fall* unto their Gods, perhaps

“ Of Bethel and of Dan ———”

in recommendation of which it may be observed that *fall to idols* is Miltonick ; as it is said of Solomon, *Paradise Lost*, B. i. 444, that his heart

“ Beguil’d by fair idolatresses *fell*

“ *To idols foul.*” DUNSTER.

Ver. 429. *Unhumbled, unrepentant, unreform’d,*] See my note on *Par. Lost*, B. ii. 185.

Their enemies, who serve idols with God.
 Yet he at length, (time to himself best known,)
 Remembering Abraham, by some wonderous call
 May bring them back, repentant and sincere, 435
 And at their passing cleave the Assyrian flood,
 While to their native land with joy they haste;
 As the Red Sea and Jordan once he cleft,
 When to the Promis'd Land their fathers pass'd:
 To his due time and providence I leave them. 440
 So spake Israel's true king, and to the Fiend

Ver. 436. *And at their passing cleave the Assyrian flood, &c.*] There are several prophecies of the restoration of Israel: but in saying that the Lord would cleave *the Assyrian flood*, that is the river Euphrates, at their return from Assyria, as he cleft the Red Sea and the river Jordan at their coming from Egypt, the poet seems particularly to allude to *Rev.* xvi. 12, and to *Isa.* xi. 15, 16. NEWTON.

Ver. 438. — *the Red Sea and Jordan once he cleft,*] Thus in our author's version of *Psalms* cxxxvi. done at the age of fifteen;

“ The ruddy wave he *cleft* in twain,
 “ Of the Erythrean main.”

See also *Psalms* lxxiv. 15. *Translation in the Bible.* “ Thou didst cleave the fountain and the flood.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 441. ————— and to the Fiend

Made answer meet, that made void all his wiles.]

We may compare the following passage of Vida, where Satan, in his Speech to the Devils in Pandemonium, relates how he had been foiled in the Temptation of our blessed Lord, *Christiad.* i. 198.

“ Quas non in facies, quæ non mutatus in ora
 “ Accessi incaustum! Semper me reppulit ipse
 “ Non armis ullis fretus, non viribus usus;
 “ Sed, tantum veterum repetito carmine vatum,
 “ Irrita tentamenta, dulos, et vim exiit omnem.”

DUNSTER. 5

Made answer meet, that made void all his wiles.
So fares it, when with truth falshood contends.

So, in G. Fletcher's *Christ's Victory*, the Sorcerers is thus foiled in the Temptation of our Lord;

“ But he *her charms dispersed into wind*,

“ And her of insolence admonished.”



Ver. 253. p. 186. *It was a mountain &c.*] All that the Scripture saith is, that the Devil took Jesus up “ *into an exceeding high mountain*” (Matt. iv. 8); which commentators generally suppose to have been one of the mountains in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, or near the wilderness. The ancients speak little concerning it; but the moderns imagine it to have been the mountain Quarantania, as it is now called. Mr. Maundrell, in his *Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, speaking of the plain of Jericho, says, “ we descended into it, after about five hours march from Jerusalem. As soon as we entered the plain, we turned up on the left hand, and, going about one hour that way, came to the foot of the Quarantania; which they say is the mountain into which the Devil took our blessed Saviour, when he tempted him with that visionary scene of all the kingdoms and glories of the world. It is, as St. Matthew styles it, an exceeding high mountain, and in its ascent not only difficult but dangerous.” But this is all conjecture; and, as the Scripture has not specified any particular place, the poet was at liberty in this point to suit it to his own fancy. By his description here he must mean Mount Taurus, for he describes it exactly in the same manner as Strabo has described that part of Mount Taurus which divides the greater Armenia from Mesopotamia, and which contains the sources of the Euphrates and Tigris. Τὸ δ' οὐ νοτιώτατον [βορείωτατον] μάλα ἐστὶν ὁ Ταῦρος ὁρίζων τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἀπὸ τῆς Μισοποταμίας. Ἐνταῦθεν δ' ἀμφότεροι ῥέουσιν οἱ τῆς Μισοποταμίας ἰγκυκλόμενοι ποταμοί. Strabo, l. xi. p. 521. NEWTON.

That part of Mount Taurus which bounds Mesopotamia on the north, we learn from Strabo, was sometimes called simply

Mount Taurus, and sometimes the Gordyæan mountains; in the middle of which, nearly above Nisibis, stood Mount Masius. But this mountainous range does not contain the sources either of the Euphrates or Tigris; although from every part of it lesser contributory streams flow into each of these rivers. In the passage cited by Dr. Newton from Strabo, *ῥέουσιν* signifies only that the two rivers *flow through*, or *amongst*, these mountains, and not that they *spring*, or *have their sources*, in them. That such is here the sense of *ῥέουσιν* appears from another passage of the same ancient geographer in this part of his work, where, having traced the course of Mount Taurus eastward to the Euphrates, he speaks of the continuity of these mountains being no further interrupted than by the course of the river as it *flows through the middle* of them—*ὅρη συνέχῃ τοῖς μὲν περιειρημένοις, ὧν οὐκ ἔστιν διακόπταις ΠΕΩΝ διὰ μίσων ὁ ποταμός*. Indeed Strabo is very particular in pointing out the original sources of these two rivers. The springs of the Tigris he fixes in the southern side of Mount Niphates, which is considerably north-east of Mount Masius and the Gordyæan mountains; and the prime source of the Euphrates he carries very far north, (as Ptolemy had also done) and affirms that the springs of the two rivers are two thousand five hundred *stadia*, (which is above four hundred miles) distant from each other. Possibly there is some error here, as Eustathius, (on Dionysius, v. 985.) says they are only one thousand five hundred *stadia* apart. As the mountains, which constitute the head or northern boundary of Mesopotamia, incline to the south, and are absolutely the most southern part of the whole ancient Taurus, the lower end of Mount Amanus alone excepted, they are justly described by Strabo, *νοτιώτατον*; and why Dr. Newton should give *βορείοτατον*, as an hypothetical emendation in a parenthesis, or why Xylander should render the passage “*maxime ad septentriones accedens*,” I do not comprehend. Mount Masius, or any projecting elevation of that ridge, would have been no improper point for viewing a great part of this geographical scene. Milton might therefore, not without reason, be supposed to have followed Strabo as cited by Dr. Newton: and indeed “from his side two rivers flow’d” seems almost an exact translation of *ἐντεῦθεν οἱ ἀμφοτέρωι ῥέουσιν*, &c. But still, all circumstances considered, I conceive this was not the exact spot which he had

selected in his mind for his "specular mount." We must recollect that, at the conclusion of the third Book of his *Paradise Lost*, he makes Satan, in his way to Paradise, alight on the top of Mount Niphates; and, while he is there, it is said that Eden "in his view lay pleasant."

That he fixed upon Mount Niphates in that place for Satan to light upon, and from thence to survey Eden, was certainly owing to his considering it as the most elevated range of this part of Mount Taurus; and, that it was so, he collected from Strabo, who, having traced the course of the mountain from the Euphrates eastward, or rather north-east, and having described the Gordyæan mountains as being higher than any parts which he had before considered, says, "from thence it rises still higher, and is distinguished by the name of Niphates."—*ἐπειτα ἔαρεται πάλιν, καὶ καλεῖται Νιφίτης*. The object of the poet, in this part of the *Paradise Regained*, certainly was to select a point of Mount Taurus inclining to the south-east, but sufficiently central and elevated to command the Caspian sea, Artaxata, and other places specified, that lay directly, or nearly, north. Mount Niphates most particularly suited his purpose, and will, I imagine, be found to agree perfectly with all his descriptions. It may be observed also that it rises immediately above Assyria, which is the first country showed to our Lord. As to what is said, that *from its side two rivers flow'd*, the sources of the Tigris, it is agreed, were in the southern side of this mountain; and several ancient authors have supposed the Euphrates and Tigris to spring from the same source. Sallust affirms this in a fragment preserved by Seneca; "Sallustius, auctor certissimus, asserit *Tigrin et Euphratem uno fonte manare* in Armenia, qui per diversa cuntes longius dividantur, spatio medio relicto multorum millium; quæ tamen terra, quæ ab ipsis ambitur, Mesopotamia dicitur." Boethius likewise, (*Conf. Philosoph.* l. v.) says positively,

"Tigris et Euphrates uno se fonte resolvunt;"

And Lucan, l. iii. 256.

"Quaque caput rapido tollit cum Tigride magnus

"Euphrates, quos non diversi fontibus edit

"Persis;"

on which passage Grotius observes, that *non diversis* means *parum distantibus*, but adds “*vulgo tamen creditum unum habuisse fontem.*” It is also observable that one principal source of the Euphrates, according to Strabo, was in Mount Abus, at no considerable distance north of Mount Niphates. Neither has the prime source of this river been carried by other geographers so far north, as Strabo and Ptolemy have inclined to place it. It may be further remarked, that the descriptions of the poet in other respects point out Niphates as the “specular mount,” in preference to Mount Masius or any point of the Taurus between that mountain and the Euphrates; as in such a station, the verse describing the extent of the Assyrian empire,

“As far as Indus east, Euphrates west,”

seems highly improper, when the speaker was standing so near the very bank of the last river. Besides, had the spectators of this geographical scene been placed on Mount Masius, or any point of the mountains immediately at the head of Mesopotamia, the plain “at the feet of these mountains” would have been *only* Mesopotamia. But the poet positively distinguishes between Mesopotamia and his *great plain*, that lay at the foot of that vast range of Mount Taurus of which Mount Niphates may be considered as the highest and most central point. The latter he describes “*a spacious plain outstretch’d in circuit wide;*” while the former he places between its two rivers, and terms it “*fair champain with less rivers intervein’d.*” DUNSTER.

THE
FOURTH BOOK
OF
PARADISE REGAINED.

THE ARGUMENT.

Satan, persisting in the temptation of our Lord, shows him Imperial Rome in its greatest pomp and splendour, as a power which he probably would prefer before that of the Parthians; and tells him that he might with the greatest ease expel Tiberius, restore the Romans to their liberty, and make himself master not only of the Roman Empire, but by so doing of the whole world, and inclusively of the throne of David. Our Lord, in reply, expresses his contempt of grandeur and worldly power, notices the luxury, vanity, and profligacy of the Romans, declaring how little they merited to be restored to that liberty, which they had lost by their misconduct, and briefly refers to the greatness of his own future kingdom. Satan, now desperate, to enhance the value of his proffered gifts, professes that the only terms, on which he will bestow them, are our Saviour's falling down and worshipping him. Our Lord expresses a firm but temperate indignation at such a proposition, and rebukes the Tempter by the title of "Satan for ever damned." Satan, abashed, attempts to justify himself: he then assumes a new ground of temptation, and, proposing to Jesus the intellectual gratifications of wisdom and knowledge, points out to him the celebrated seat of ancient learning, Athens, its schools, and other various resorts of learned teachers and their disciples; accompanying the view with a highly-finished panegyrick on the Grecian musicians, poets, orators, and philosophers of the different sects. Jesus replies, by showing the vanity and insufficiency of the boasted Heathen philosophy; and prefers to the musick, poetry, eloquence, and didactic policy of the Greeks, those of the inspired Hebrew writers. Satan, irritated at the failure of all his attempts, upbraids the indiscretion of our Saviour in rejecting his offers;

THE ARGUMENT.

and, having, in ridicule of his expected kingdom, foretold the sufferings that our Lord was to undergo, carries him back into the wilderness, and leaves him there. Night comes on : Satan raises a tremendous storm, and attempts further to alarm Jesus with frightful dreams, and terrifick threatening spectres ; which however have no effect upon him. A calm, bright, beautiful morning succeeds to the horrors of the night. Satan again presents himself to our blessed Lord, and, from noticing the storm of the preceding night as pointed chiefly at him, takes occasion once more to insult him with an account of the sufferings which he was certainly to undergo. This only draws from our Lord a brief rebuke. Satan, now at the height of his desperation, confesses that he had frequently watched Jesus from his birth, purposely to discover if he was the true Messiah ; and, collecting from what passed at the river Jordan that he most probably was so, he had from that time more assiduously followed him, in hopes of gaining some advantage over him, which would most effectually prove that he was not really that Divine Person destined to be his “ fatal Enemy.” In this he acknowledges that he has hitherto completely failed ; but still determines to make one more trial of him. Accordingly he conveys him to the Temple at Jerusalem, and, placing him on a pointed eminence, requires him to prove his Divinity either by standing there, or casting himself down with safety. Our Lord reproves the Tempter, and at the same time manifests his own Divinity by standing on this dangerous point. Satan, amazed and terrified, instantly falls ; and repairs to his Infernal Compeers, to relate the bad success of his enterprise. Angels in the mean time convey our blessed Lord to a beautiful valley, and, while they minister to him a repast of celestial food, celebrate his victory in a triumphant hymn.

PARADISE REGAINED.

BOOK IV.

PERPLEX'D and tróubled at his bad success
 The Tempter stood, nor had what to reply,
 Discover'd in his fraud, thrown from his hope
 So oft, and the persuaſive rhetoric
 That ſleek'd his tongue, and won ſo much on
 Eve,
 So little here, nay loſt; but Eve was Eve;
 This far his over-match, who, ſelf-deceiv'd
 And raſh, before-hand had no better weigh'd

Ver. 1. *Perplex'd*] The ſtrong ſenſe, in which Milton almoſt always uſes this word, may induce us to ſuppoſe that, in his own mind, he derived it of the Greek *πλίσσω*, *πληγίς*, *πειπληγμένος*, *percutio*, *vexo*, *perterreo*, or from its compound *παραπλήτω*, from whence *παραπλήξ* *mente percuſus*, *attonitus*, and *παραπειπληγμένος* *ſaribundus*. *Perplexed* and *perplexity* are uſed in this ſtrong ſenſe in our verſion both of the Old and New Teſtament. See *Iſaiah*, xxii. 5. *Eſther*, iii. 15. *Micah*, vii. 4. *Luke*, ix. 7, and xxi. 25. DUNSTER.

Ver. 4. ——— *the perſuaſive rhetoric*] Thus the Serpent's addreſs to Eve is termed, in Sylveſter's *Du Barras*, 1621, p. 191, "glozing *rhetorike*." And Milton alſo, in his account of the Temptation of Eve, *Par. Loſt*, B. ix. 549, ſays "So glōz'd the Tempter." See alſo *Comus*, v. 790.

The strength he was to cope with, or his own :
But as a man, who had been matchless held 10

Ver. 9. *The strength he was to cope with, or his own :*] Milton might allude to the particular description of a *strong man foiled*, Luke xi. 21, 22. "When a strong man armed keepeth his palace, his goods are in peace. But when a *stronger man* than he shall come upon him, and overcome him, he *taketh from him all his armour wherein he trusted.*" These words were spoken by Christ himself, possibly with a reference to his victory over the Tempter, who "had no better weighed *the strength* he was to cope with, or his own."

Ver. 10. *But as a man, &c.*] It is the method of Homer to illustrate and adorn the same subject with several similitudes. Our author here follows his example, and presents us with a *string* of similes together. This fecundity and variety of the two poets can never be sufficiently admired; but Milton, I think, has the advantage in this respect, that in Homer the lowest comparison is sometimes the last, whereas here they rise one upon another. The first has too much sameness with the subject that it would illustrate, and gives us no new ideas. The second is low, but it is the lowness of Homer, and at the same time is very natural. The third is free from the defects of the other two, and rises up to Milton's usual dignity and majesty. Mr. Thyer also observes that Milton, as if conscious of the defects of his two first comparisons, rises in the third to his usual sublimity. NEWTON.

Ibid. *But as a man, who had been matchless held &c.*] The character of *the man of cunning irritated by defeat*, however well drawn, is here an image too general and indistinct, materially to illustrate, or in any way to decorate, this part of the poem. We may therefore perhaps suppose the description in this place to have been *personal*: it might refer to his old literary, political, enemy, Salmasius, as the "man who had been matchless held," and who, after being "foiled" in the controversy by our author's *defensio populi*, endeavoured "to save his credit" by a virulent reply, which he did not live to finish, but which

In cunning, over-reach'd where least he thought,
 To false his credit, and for very spite,
 Still will be tempting him who foils him still,
 And never cease, though to his shame the more;
 Or as a swarm of flies in vintage time, 15

was published by his son: or it might relate to his later antagonist Alexander More, or Morus. DUNSTER.

Ver. 15. *Or as a swarm of flies &c.*] This comparison, Dr. Jortin observes, is very just; and in the manner of Homer, *Il.* xvi. 641.

Οἱ δ' αἰεὶ περὶ περὶ δόμῳ, ὡς ὅτε μύσας
 Σταθμῶν ἐν βρομέωσι περιγλαγέας κατὰ πείλας,
 "Ὡρῇ ἐν εἰαρινῇ, ὅτε τὲ γλάγος ἄγρια δύνει.

See also *Il.* xvii. 570, &c.

Mr. Thyer notices likewise the simile of the Flies in the second Book of the *Iliad*, 469.

Ἦύτε μυιάων ἀδινάων ἔθνεα πολλὰ,
 Αἴτε κατὰ σταθμὸν ποικιλήϊον ἡλάσκειν
 "Ὡρῇ ἐν εἰαρινῇ, ὅτε τὲ γλάγος ἄγρια δύνει.

The language of this last simile is beautiful, but the image which it presents is of a kind that scarcely embellishes, and certainly does not dignify, the description. The other two comparisons of a band of warriors obstinately defending the dead body of their companion from the repeated attacks of the enemy, to a number of flies which it is scarcely possible to drive back from a milk pail, and of a single hero acting the same resolute part, to a fly that will not quit a dead carcase, are, it must be allowed, similes of the degrading kind, and unworthy of the subject they are intended to illustrate. But the application of the same simile by Milton in this place is so perfectly appropriate, that no such objection lies against it. It is justly observed by Dr. Blair, respecting similes, "that they are commonly intended to embellish and to dignify; and therefore, unless in burlesque writing, or where similes are introduced pur-

About the wine-press where sweet must is pour'd,
 Beat off, returns as oft with humming sound;
 Or furling waves against a solid rock,
 Though all to shivers dash'd, the assault renew,
 (Vain battery!) and in froth or bubbles end; 20

posely to vilify and diminish an object, mean ideas should never be presented to us." This then is one of the Critick's exceptions, as it may be supposed the Poet's object here to diminish, by setting in its true light, the character of the Tempter, which in parts of this Poem he had found it convenient to invest with such a portion of dignity, that it was necessary at other times to counteract it by lowering descriptions and degrading comparisons. Besides, as the courage and force of a magnanimous hero may be illustrated by the comparison of a lion or a torrent, so may the low cunning and base arts of an insidious adversary be, with no less propriety, elucidated by a comparison of an insect or a reptile.

It may be observed that *musca* is used metaphorically, by the best Roman authors, to signify a pertinacious parasite, a person of the most impertinent curiosity, or of such impudence of any kind as can with difficulty be restrained or repressed. Thus Stephens, in his *Theaurus*, interprets *musca* by *homo molestus, importunus*. Lipsius, in a note on Plautus, *Mercat.* Act ii. Sc. iii. 26, remarks that a fly was the Ægyptian symbol of impudence. *Mûia* is used in the same sense in Greek. Antiphanes, a writer of the Middle Comedy, in his *Προγοροι*, makes a parasite describe himself "as a fly that will not fail, though uninvited, to thrust himself in to an entertainment:" Δειπνῶ ἀκλητος, Μύια.

DUNSTER.

The reader may here also compare Ariosto's beautiful Simile of the Flies, *Orl. Fur.* c. xiv. st. cix.

Ver. 18. *Or furling waves against a solid rock,*

Though all to shivers dash'd, the assault renew,]

There can be but one opinion respecting this simile. "It presents" says Mr. Thyer, "to the reader's mind an image which not only fills and satisfies the imagination, but also perfectly expresses

So Satan, whom repulse upon repulse
Met ever, and to shameful silence brought,

both the unmoved steadfastness of our Saviour, and the frustrated baffled attempts of Satan." We may trace a resemblance of it, where Vida describes the vain attempts of the Arch-Fiend, in the Temptation of our blessed Lord, *Christiad.* iv. 628.

—————"Haud destitit hostis
"Congressu victus primo, pugnamque retentat,
"Atque aliis super atque aliis assultibus instat,
"Terque novos, semper cœpti irritus, integrat astus,
"Nequicquam nunc regnorum, nunc laudis, inani
"Immotum tentans animum pervertere amore.
"Ut, cum sollicitum tollunt mare fluctibus Euri,
"Crebra ferit, sævitque minaci murmure in alta
"Littora, sed saxa allisa revertitur unda."

We may also compare the following stanza of Giles Fletcher's *Christ's Triumph over Death*,

"So have I seen a rock's heroick breast,
"Against proud Neptune, that his ruin threatens,
"When all his waves he hath to battie prest,
"And with a thousand swelling billows beats
"The stubborn stone, and foams and chafes and frets
"To heave him from his root, unmoved stand;
"And more in heaps the barking *furges* land,
"The more *in pieces beat* fly weeping to the strand."

And we may trace all these later poets to Virgil, *Æn.* vii. 586, as we may Virgil himself to Homer, *Il.* xv. 618.

DUNSTER.

Ibid. — [*furging waves*] This is a frequent expression in our old poetry. Thus in the *Historie of Sir Chyomon*, 1599.

"Here by the sea of *furging waues*."

Again, in Ford's *Lover's Melancholy*, 1629.

"The frothy fomes of Neptune's *furging waues*."

See also Drayton's *Polyolbion*, S. xvi. p. 252, edit. 1622, and Niccols's *Mir. for Mag.* p. 861, edit. 1610. But Milton



Yet gives not o'er, though desperate of success,
 And his vain importunity pursues.
 He brought our Saviour to the western side 25
 Of that high mountain, whence he might behold
 Another plain, long, but in breadth not wide,
 Wash'd by the southern sea, and, on the north,
 To equal length back'd with a ridge of hills
 That screen'd the fruits of the earth, and seats of
 men, 30
 From cold Septentrion blasts; thence in the midst
 Divided by a river, of whose banks
 On each side an imperial city stood,
 With towers and temples proudly elevate

perhaps had here in mind both the phrase, and the simile, as they stand in Harington's *Orlando Furioso*, c. xlv. st. 70.

“ Nor better doth a *rocke* indure the stroke

“ Of *furging waues*, still wallowing to the land.”

Ver. 27. *Another plain, &c.*] The learned reader need not be informed that the country here meant is Italy, which indeed is long but not broad, and is washed by the Mediterranean on the south, and screened by the Alps on the north, and divided in the midst by the river Tiber. NEWTON.

The ridge of hills here does not mean the Alps, but the Apennines which divide the south-west part of Italy from the north-west; and in which the river Tiber has its source. The *plain*, contained between these hills and the Mediterranean sea, consists of the old Etruria, Latium, and Campania; the two latter being divided from the former by the course of the Tiber.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 34. *With towers and temples proudly elevate &c.*] Thus Spenser, in his *Ruins of Time*, where Verulam, comparing herself with Rome, describes “ the beauty of her buildings fair;”

On seven small hills, with palaces adorn'd, 35

" High towers, fair temples, goodly theatres,
 " Strong walls, rich porches, princely palaces,
 " Large streets, brave houses, sacred sepulchres,
 " Sure gates, sweet gardens, stately galleries, &c."

DUNSTER.

Ver. 35. *On seven small hills,*] Thus Virgil, *Georgic* ii. 535, speaking of Rome,

" *Septemque una sibi muro circumdedit arces.*"

NEWTON.

Ibid. ————— *with palaces adorn'd,*

Porches, and theatres, baths, aqueducts,

Statues, and trophies, and triumphal arcs,] The *palaces*

were a subject of immense expence and grandeur. Clodius, the antagonist of Milo, even in the times of the republick, dwelt in a house that cost near one hundred and twenty thousand pounds of our money. We may form some judgement of the size and extent of the Roman palaces, from what is said of them by the writers of the Augustan age. Sallust mentions "*domos et villas in urbium modum exædificatas.*" Bell. Catilin. 12. And Ovid uses a similar expression, speaking of the house which Augustus Cæsar pulled down, as setting a dangerous example of luxury, when he built the Temple of Concord, and the Livian Portico, in its room.

" *Urbis opus domus una fuit,*" Fast. vi. 639.

Seneca also speaks in the same manner of the private houses in his time; "*ædificia privata laxitatem urbium magnarum vincuntia.*" De Benefic. vii. 10, and Epist. xc. he notices "*domos instar urbium.*"

The *Porches* or *Porticos* also were an article of immense magnificence at Rome. They were elevated structures of great extent; and were much resorted to for shade in summer, and for dryness in winter. Martial speaks of the Claudian Portico, *De Spectac.* Ep. ii. 9. and describes the famous Portico of Cn. Octavius, in the Circus Flaminius, L. ii. Ep. xiv. Ovid notices the Pompeian, Octavian, and Livian Porticos, *De Art. Amand.* i. 67, &c. These buildings were introduced by Scipio Nafica, on the termination of the Punick war; who built one in the

Porches, and theatres, baths, aqueducts,

Capitol. Besides those which were separate buildings by themselves, others were prefixed to temples, theatres, and baths. As Roman luxury rose to its height, private persons had their porticos. Paterculus, having spoken of the publick porticos, adds: "*publicam magnificentiam secuta privata luxuria est.*" L. ii. C. 1.

The *Theatres*, in which we may include the *Amphitheatres*, *Circi*, and *Naumachiæ*, were conspicuous objects among the magnificent buildings of Rome. They were at first only temporary buildings, but were erected sometimes at an incredible expence. Pliny describes very particularly one built by M. Scaurus, the son-in-law of Sylla, which he terms "*opus maximum omnium quæ umquam fuere humanâ manu facta.*" L. xxxvi. C. 15. Pompey was the first person who built a fixed theatre; see Tacitus, *Annal.* xiv. C. xx. Permanent theatres of a great extent soon became frequent. Some remains of those built by Marcellus, and Statilius Taurus, are still to be seen; as well as that of Tiberius.

The great extent of the Roman publick *Baths* may be judged of by the ruins now remaining of those of Caracalla and Dioclesian. Ammianus Marcellinus speaks of baths at Rome "*in modum provinciarum extructa,*" (L. xvi. C. 10;) where, however, Valesius judiciously suggests the reading *piscinarum* rather than *provinciarum*. Rutilius, in his *Itinerarium*, says, v. 102.

"*Consumunt totos celsa lavacra lacus.*"

The *baths* even of private persons were very lofty buildings, and were ornamented in the most superb style. Juvenal, speaking of the expences of private persons in whatever gratified their own luxury, specifies particularly their *baths* and *porticos*, Sat. vii. 178.

"*Balnea sexcentis, et pluris porticus,*"

where, if *sexcentis* be understood of the *sestertium*, which the sense seems to require that it should, the expence of a private bath is estimated by the satyrist at near five thousand pounds of our money. Seneca particularly notices this absurd extravagance of his countrymen, in his lxxxvith epistle.

Statues, and trophies, and triumphal arcs;

The *Aqueducts* were some of the noblest works of the Romans. Frontinus, in his *Treatise de Aquæductibus Urbis Romæ*, affirms them to have been “*magnitudinis Romani Imperii præcipuum indicium.*” Pliny speaks particularly of the aqueduct begun by Caius Cæsar, and finished by Claudius, as far exceeding all that had ever been before it in every respect. L. xxxvi. C. 15. The expence he says was “*sestertium ter millies,*” equal to about a million and half sterling.

The passion of the Romans for *Statues* appears from the number of antique statues yet remaining at Rome, after the numerous desolations of that city. Greece, Asia, and Egypt were all plundered to ornament it with statues. Among the most conspicuous of these, on a bird’s eye view of the city, were the colossal images of some of their emperours, standing on superb columns. Ammianus Marcellinus, in his description of the triumphal entry of Constantius into Rome, notices the “*elatos vertices, qui scanfili suggestu confurgunt, priorum principum imitamenta portantes.*” These may be supposed the statues which the poet here intends.

Rutilius notices the numberless *Trophies* which decorated every part of the city of Rome, *Itinerar.* 91, &c. Milton had here perhaps in his mind the trophies now remaining in the front of the Capitol, thought to be the Cimbrick trophies of Marius.

The *Arches* erected in honour of eminent persons were in the early ages of Rome rude structures. That of Camillus was of plain stone. But those of Cæsar, Drusus, Titus, Trajan, Constantine, and others, were of marble, and many of them ornamented with statues, trophies, and the most curious sculpture; particularly those of Titus and Constantine. Claudian refers to the arches adorned with trophies, *In Secund. Conf. Stilich.* 65.

DUNSTER.

Milton’s *triumphal arcs* may have been taken from Spenser’s Verses, prefixed to the *Historie of G. Castriot*, &c. 1596.

“*Their rich triumphall arcks which they did raise.*”

See also Daniel’s *Civil Wars*, &c.

“*Triumphant arcs of perdurable might.*”

Gardens, and groves, presented to his eyes,
 Above the highth of mountains interpos'd :
 (By what strange parallax, or optick skill 40
 Of vision, multiplied through air, or glafs
 Of telescope, were curious to inquire :)

Ver. 38. *Gardens, and groves,*] These were high articles of luxury among the Romans. Those of Lucullus are mentioned by Plutarch, as even in his time the most magnificent of any belonging to the emperor. Julius Cæsar by will bequeathed his gardens near the river Tiber to the Roman people. Martial mentions groves of laurel, planes, and cypresses, as contributing much to the luxury and elegance of a mansion; and joins them with *baths and porticos*, Lib. xii. Ep. 50, &c. DUNSTER.

Ver. 40. (*By what strange parallax, or optick skill*

Of vision, multiplied through air, or glafs

Of telescope,] The learned have been very idly

busy in contriving the manner in which Satan shewed to our Saviour all the kingdoms of the world. Some suppose it was done by vision; others by Satan's creating phantasms or species of different kingdoms, and presenting them to our Saviour's sight, &c. &c. But what Milton here alludes to is a fanciful notion which I find imputed to our famous countryman Hugh Broughton. Cornelius a Lapide in summing up the various opinions upon this subject gives it in these words: "*Alii subtiliter imaginantur, quod Dæmon per multa specula sibi invicem objecta species regnorum ex uno speculo in aliud et aliud continuo reflexerit, idque fecerit usque ad oculos Christi.*" In locum Matthæi. For want of a proper index I could not find the place in Broughton's works. But Wolfius, in his *Cursæ philologicæ in SS. Evangelia*, fathers this whim upon him: "*Alii cum Hugone Broughtono ad instrumenta artis opticæ se recipiunt.*" Vid. Wolf. in *Matt.* iv. 8. THYER.

The learned Bochart has a Dissertation on this subject; the following passage of which might here have been in Milton's recollection. "*Eo usque progreditur hominum industria, ut in-*

And now the Tempter thus his silence broke.

The city, which thou see'st, no other deem
Than great and glorious Rome, queen of the
earth,

45

So far renown'd, and with the spoils enrich'd
Of nations ; there the Capitol thou see'st,

strumentis quibusdam opticis, telescopiis, microscopiis, et speculis, &c. remotissima quæque oculis subjiat, minutissima quævis adducat in conspectum, objectorum situm prorsus immutat, adeo ut posteriora antè, inferius superiora cernantur. Nullatenus profecto dubitandum quin longe major sit Diaboli in objectis admovendis, amplificandis, suo situ emovendis, &c. vis ac solertia ; cum pro tubis opticis aut speculis bipedalibus, vel tripedalibus, quibus solemus uti, ille præsto nubes habeat, quas ex arbitrio, tanquam aeris princeps, fingit ac usurpat." Tom. i. p. 949 DUNSTER.

Ver. 45. — *great and glorious Rome, queen of the earth,*] So, in *Par. Lost*, B. xi. 405.

——— "Europe thence, and where *Rome* was to sway
" *The world.*"

Thus Propertius terms Rome, L. iii. *El.* 10.

"Septem urbs alta jugis, quæ toti præsidet orbi."

Rutilius, in his *Itinerarium*, where he describes himself quitting Rome, thus begins a most affectionate valedictory address to her, L. i. 47.

"Exaudi, regina tui pulcherrima mundi." DUNSTER.

Ver. 46. ———— *with the spoils enrich'd*

Of nations ;] This refers to the immense sums carried to Rome, and deposited in the treasury by their generals ; and to what was amassed by the fines which the Romans arbitrarily set upon other states and kingdoms, as the price of their friendship. Lucan, where he relates the plundering of the treasury by Julius Cæsar, particularly describes the spoils and treasures accumulated by these rulers of the world, *Pharsal.* iii. 155, &c. DUNSTER.

Above the rest lifting his stately head
 On the Tarpeian rock, her citadel
 Impregnable ; and there mount Palatine, 50
 The imperial palace, compass huge, and high
 The structure, skill of noblest architects,
 With gilded battlements conspicuous far,
 Turrets, and terraces, and glittering spires :
 Many a fair edifice besides, more like 55

Ver. 50. ————— *there mount Palatine,*

The imperial palace, compass huge, and high

The structure,] In the following passage from

Claudian we may perhaps trace something like the groundwork
 of this description of Rome, *De VI. Cons. Hon.* 35.

“ *Ecce Palatino crevit reverentia monti,*

“ *Exsultatque habitante Deo, potioraque Delphis*

“ *Supplicibus late populis oracula pandit ;*

“ *Atque suas ad signa jubet revirescere laurus.*

“ *Non alium certe decuit rectoribus orbis*

“ *Esse larem, nulloque magis se colle potestas*

“ *Æstimat, et summi sentit fastigia juris.*

“ *Attollens apicem subiectis regia rostris*

“ *Tot circum delubra videt, tantisque Deorum*

“ *Cingitur excubiis. Juvat infra tecta Tonantis*

“ *Cernere Tarpeia pendentes rupe Gigantas,*

“ *Cælatisque fores, mediisque volantia signa*

“ *Nubibus, et densum stipantibus æthera templis,*

“ *Æræque vestitis numerosa puppe columnis*

“ *Constita, subnixasque jugis immanibus ædes,*

“ *Naturam cumulante manu ; spoliisque micantes*

“ *Innumeros arcus. Acies stupet igne metalli,*

“ *Et circumfuso trepidans obtunditur auro.”* DUNSTER.

Ver. 54. *Turrets, and terraces,]* Mr. Dunster remarks, that
 Milton here seems to have blended the old *English* castle with
 his *Roman view*. See also Mr. Warton's note on *Comus*, v. 934.

Houses of Gods, (so well I have dispos'd
My aery microscope,) thou may'st behold,
Outside and inside both, pillars and roofs,
Carv'd work, the hand of fam'd artificers,
In cedar, marble, ivory, or gold. 60

Ver. 56. *Houses of Gods,*] This is the true reading. Some editions read "*Houses of God.*"

Ver. 58. *Outside and inside both,*] So Menippus, in Lucian's *Icaro-Menippus*, could see clearly and distinctly, from the moon, cities and men upon the earth, and what they were doing, both *without doors, and within*, where they thought themselves most secret. Κατακύψας γὰρ ἐς τὴν γῆν εὐρων ζαφῶς τὰς πόλεις, τὸς ἀνθρώπους, τὰ γινόμενα, καὶ ἐν τὰ ἐν ὑπαίθερ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπόσα ἔμοι ἔπραττον, οἴμενοι λαμβάνει. Luciani Op. vol. ii. p. 197. Edit. GRÆV. CALTON.

Ver. 59. ——— *the hand of fam'd artificers,*] The *handywork*, as Dr. Newton has remarked on *Par. Lost*, B. ix. 438. Where see the note. Mr. Dunster notices the same expression in *Par. Lost*, B. i. 732.

—————"his *hand* was known
"In Heaven by many a tower'd structure high."

Ver. 60. *In cedar, marble, ivory, or gold.*] The Romans were incredibly expensive in the columns and roofs, or cielings of their houses. Pliny mentions three hundred and sixty columns of foreign marble erected by M. Scaurus for the scenery of a temporary theatre. L. xxxvi. C. 2. L. Crassus, the orator, had, as some copies of Pliny read, sixty columns of Hymettian marble, each twelve feet high, in his palace. L. xxxvi. C. 3. Columns were afterwards made of the *lapis alabastrites*, or *onyx*, which was brought from the mountains of Arabia. Pliny says he saw more than thirty of this sort in the upper apartments of Callistus a freedman of Claudius. L. xxxvi. C. 7. The walls of their houses were incrust with marble. Plin. xxxvi. 6. The cielings even of private houses were covered with gold, "*laquearia quæ nunc et in privatis domibus auro teguntur.*"

Thence to the gates cast round thine eye, and see
 What conflux issuing forth, or entering in;
 Prætors, proconsuls to their provinces
 Haſting, or on return, in robes of ſtate,

Plin. xxxiii. 3. The beams were decorated in a ſimilar manner. Statius, 1 *Sylv.* iii. 35, notices the *auratas trabes* in the villa of Manlius Vopifcus; and Propertius ſpeaks of

——— “ *camera auratas inter eburna trabes.*”

That Ivory was employed, we learn from Horace’s

“ *Non ebur, neque aureum*

“ *Mea renidet in domo lacunar,*” *Od.* II. xviii.

And from Statius, *Sylv.* I. iii. 48.

——— “ *labor eſt auri memorare figuras,*

“ *Aut ebur.*”

For the united magnificence of “ marble, ivory, and gold,” we may refer to Lucan’s deſcription of the palace of Cleopatra at Alexandria, which he terms

“ *Nondum tranſlatos Romana in ſæcula luxus;*”

intimating that at the time he wrote there was no occaſion to go from Rome to Egypt in ſearch of palaces thus ſplendidly decorated, *Pharſal.* x. 111, &c.

Cedar was uſed by the ancients in their buildings. Hence Virgil, ſpeaking of the woods of Caucaſus, *Georg.* ii. 442.

——— “ *dant utile lignum*

“ *Navigiis pinus, domibus cedrûmque cupreſſoſque.*”

Pliny ſays the beams of Diana’s temple at Ephesus were of cedar. L. xvi. C. 11. DUNSTER.

Ver. 63. *Prætors, proconsuls to their provinces*

Haſting, or on return, in robes of ſtate, &c.] The rapacity of the Roman provincial governours, and their eagerneſs to take poſſeſſion of their prey, is here ſtrongly marked by the word *haſting*. Their pride and vanity was not leſs than their rapacity, and was diſplayed not only in their triumphs, but in

Lictors and rods, the ensigns of their power, 65
 Legions and cohorts, turms of horse and wings :
 Or embassies from regions far remote,
 In various habits, on the Appian road,
 Or on the Emilian ; some from farthest south,
 Syene, and where the shadow both way falls, 70

their magisterial state upon all occasions. The pride and state of the Roman magistrates is noticed by Sallust, who also refers to their infamously rapacious conduct ;—" incedunt per ora vestra magnifice sacerdotia et consulatus, pars triumphos suos ostentantes : perinde quasi ea honori, non *prædæ*, habeant." *Bell. Jugurth. C. 31.* DUNSTER.

Ver. 66. ——— turns of horse] *Troops* of horse, a word coined from the Latin, *turma*. Virg. *Æn.* v. 560. " equitum *turmæ*." NEWTON.

Ver. 68. ——— on the Appian road,
Or the Emilian ;] The Appian road from Rome led towards the south of Italy, and the *Æmilian* towards the north. The nations on the Appian road are included in ver. 69—76, those on the Emilian in ver. 77—79. NEWTON.

Ver. 69. ——— some from farthest south,
Syene,] Milton had in view what he read in Pliny and other authors, that *Syene* was the limit of the Roman Empire, and the remotest place to the south that belonged to it. Or it may be said that poets have not scrupled to give the epithets *extremi*, *ultimi*, to any people that lived a great way off ; and that possibly Milton intended farthest south to be so applied both to *Syene* and to *Meroe*. JORTIN.

He first mentions places in *Africa* ; *Syene*, a city of Egypt on the confines of Ethiopia ; " Ditionis *Ægypti* esse incipit a fine *Æthiopiæ Syene* ;" Plin. Lib. v. Sect. 9. ; *Meroe*, an island and city of Ethiopia, in the river Nile, therefore called *Nilotick isle*, where the shadow both way falls ; " Rursus in *Meroe*, (insula hæc caputque gentis *Æthiopum*—in amne *Nilo* habitatur,) bis anno absumi umbras ;" Plin. Lib. ii. Sect. 73. ; the realm of

Meroe, Nilotick isle; and, more to west,
The realm of Bocchus to the Black-moor sea;
From the Asian kings, and Parthian among these;

Bocchus, Mauritania. Then *Asian* nations; among these the *golden Chersonese*, Malacca the most southern promontory of the East-Indies, (see *Paradise Lost*, B. xi. 392;) and utmost *Indian isle Taprobane*, wherefore Pliny says it is "extra orbem a natura relegata;" Lib. vi. Sect. 22. Then the *European* nations as far as to the *Taurick pool*, that is the palus Maeotis; "Lacus ipse Maeotis, Tanain amnem ex Rhiparis montibus defluentem accipiens, novissimum inter Europam Asiâque finem, &c." Plin. Lib. iv. Sect. 12. NEWTON.

The description here, seems governed by the cardinal point. It first looks *southward*, to Africa; then *eastward*, to Asia; then *westward*, to France, Spain, and the British Islands; then *northward*, to Germany, ancient Scythia, and the most northern European nations. DUNSTER.

Ver. 71. *Meroe, Nilotick isle*:] Meroe is described by an entertaining and judicious traveller as "the fairest and most famous of the fortunate Islands," made by the division of the streams of the Nile. See Sandys's *Travels*, 1615, p. 93. The epithet *Nilotic* is probably adopted here, as Mr. Dunster notes, from Martial, who calls Egypt "*Nilotica tellus*," L. vi. Ep. 80.

Ver. 72. *The realm of Bocchus*] Thus Claudian, *De Illyr. Conf. Honor.* 40.

— — — "*antiqua penetralia diruta Bocchi.*"

And Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*, L. xxvii, "*la citta di Bocchi.*"

DUNSTER.

Ibid. ————— *to the Black-moor sea*;) Hor. *Ode* II. vi. 3.

— — — "*ubi Mauri semper*

"*Assuat unda.*" DUNSTER.

Ver. 73. — — — *and Parthian among these*;) The Emperor having failed to captivate our Lord with the view of the immense forces of the Parthians and their military prepa-

From India and the golden Chersonese,
 And utmost Indian isle Taprobane, 75
 Dusk faces with white filken turbans wreath'd;
 From Gallia, Gades, and the British west;
 Germans, and Scythians, and Sarmatians, north
 Beyond Danubius to the Taurick pool.

rations and skill, now endeavours to impress upon him a sense of the great power of the Roman Empire. This is displayed in the embassies of distant and powerful nations, among whom we find the Parthians, who are thus made to bow the head to the Genius of Rome. DUNSTER.

Ver. 75. ————— *Taprobane,*] The *Taprobane* of the ancients is generally supposed to be the island of Ceylon. See Dr. Robertson's *Historical Disquisition concerning Ancient India*, p. 77.

Ver. 76. *Dusk faces with white filken turbans wreath'd;*] I have been told that a truly respectable prelate, whose taste and literary acquirements are of the first eminence, has noticed this verse as one of the most picturesque lines that he had ever met with in poetry: almost every word conveys a distinct idea, and generally one of great effect. Prudentius has a passage not dissimilar, *Hamartigen.* 499.

————— “ decolor Indus
 “ Tempora pinnatis redimitus nigra sagittis.”

DUNSTER.

Ver. 77. ————— *Gades,*] The old Roman name for Cadiz, or Cales, a principal sea-port of Spain, without the straits of Gibraltar; and is here put to signify the part of Spain most distant from Rome; which the Romans distinguished by the name of *Hispania ulterior*. DUNSTER.

Ver. 78. *Germans, and Scythians, and Sarmatians, north
 Beyond Danubius to the Taurick pool.*] The Danube was the southern boundary of ancient Germany. From the mouth of the Danube to the *Palus Mæotis*, all along the shores of the Euxine Sea, lay the European Scythians, and beyond them north.

All nations now to Rome obedience pay ; 80
 To Rome's great emperour, whose wide domain,
 In ample territory, wealth, and power,
 Civility of manners, arts and arms,
 And long renown, thou justly may'st prefer
 Before the Parthian. These two thrones except, 85

ward, the Sauromatæ, Sarmatæ, or Sarmatians. All the inter-mixed nations seem at the time of the Christian Era to have been so far swallowed up in these two, as to have ranked under the general head of Scythians or Sarmatians; which names ancient historians have much confounded. These two nations extended themselves very far north. Cluverius says, that Sarmatia reached quite to the Northern Ocean; which was thence called *Oceanus Sarmaticus*. Juvenal joins the Sarmatians with this ocean, *Sat.* ii. 1, 2. Milton may therefore be understood, in this description, as meaning to comprehend all the European nations from the banks of the Danube, and the shores of the Euxine, to the Northern Ocean. DUNSTER.

Ver. 84. ———— *— thou justly may'st prefer
 Before the Parthian.*] The Tempter had before advised our Saviour to prefer the Parthian, B. iii. 363.

————— “ the Parthian first
 “ By my advice :”

but this shuffling and inconsistency is very natural and agreeable to the father of lies, and by these touches his character is set in a proper light. NEWTON.

There appears to me here no inconsistency whatever. What is here said rather marks the great and accomplished art of the tempter, than indicates a “shuffling.” Satan only varies the attack, by changing the ground on which it had not been successful. His manner of doing it is perfectly plausible. “You,” says he, “may very possibly prefer an alliance with the Romans, whose power and splendour I have just displayed, to one with the Parthians; and you judge wisely in so doing.” DUNSTER.

The rest are barbarous, and scarce worth the sight,
 Shar'd among petty kings too far remov'd;
 These having shown thee, I have shown thee all
 The kingdoms of the world, and all their glory.
 This emperour hath no son, and now is old, 90

Yet, to say that Christ might *justly* prefer an alliance with the Roman, after he had said that by the Parthian he should

————— “ regain, *without him not*,
 “ That which alone could truly re-install him
 “ In David's seat,”—

argues, I think, in the strongest sense of the expression, a *liar traced*, as the Angel denominates him in *Par. Lost*.—It is in character, however, for the Tempter to recommend the wealth and grandeur of Rome to our Lord's notice. Porphyry says, that the devils always endeavoured to entice men to worship them *by magnificent promises of riches and glory*. See Elmer in *Mat.* iv. 8, 9. Compare B. iii. 25, and the note on the passage.

Ver. 88. ————— *I have shown thee all*

The kingdoms of the world, and all their glory.] The Poet in the preceding Book had displayed at large the military power of the Parthian empire. In the beginning of this Book he shows and describes Imperial Rome, the “ Queen of the Earth,” in all her magnificence of splendour and pride of power; and introduces the rest of the world as subject to her, doing homage to her greatness, and suing to her with embassies. Thus admirably has he depicted “ the kingdoms of the world, and all their glory,” in the great and principal empire of the Heathen world: very judiciously also and with considerable effect has he wound up his extended and highly finished description, by recurring to the *brief* account in scripture of the Devil showing our Lord *all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them*. *Mat. iv.* DUNSTER.

Ver. 90. *This emperour &c.*] This account of the emperour Tiberius retiring from Rome to the island *Capreae*, and there enjoying his horrid lusts in private, and in the mean while com-

And with my help thou may'st; to me the power
Is given, and by that right I give it thee.

Aim therefore at no less than all the world; 105

Aim at the highest: without the highest attain'd,

Will be for thee no fitting, or not long,

On David's throne, be prophesied what will.

To whom the Son of God, unmov'd, replied.

Nor doth this grandeur and majestic show 110

Of luxury, though call'd magnificence,

More than of arms before, allure mine eye,

Much less my mind; though thou should'st add

to tell

Their sumptuous gluttonies, and gorgeous feasts

Ver. 103. ————— to me the power

Is given, and by that right I give it thee.] "All
this power will I give thee, and the glory of them; *for that is
delivered unto me, and to whomsoever I will I give it.*" Luke
iv. 6. DUNSTER.

Ver. 114. *Their sumptuous gluttonies, and gorgeous feasts*] The
poet had here perhaps in his mind the account given by Suetonius
cap. 13, of the *sumptuous gluttonies of Vitellius*; or the immense
sums expended in this way by the famous Apicius, of which see
Seneca, *De Consolat. Ad Helv.* cap. 10. The *gorgeousness* of the
Roman *feasts* is thus described by a poet of the Augustan age,
Manilius, lib. v. 507.

—————"Triclinia templis

"Concertant; testique auro jam vescimur aurum."

DUNSTER.

This line of *Paradise Regained* might perhaps have been dic-
tated by a passage in *Comus*, v. 776.

—————"swinish Gluttony

"Ne'er looks to Heaven amidst his *gorgeous feast*."

On citron tables or Atlantick stone, 115
 (For I have also heard, perhaps have read,)
 Their wines of Setia, Cales, and Falerne,

Ver. 115. *On citron tables or Atlantick stone,*] Tables made of *citron* wood were in such request among the Romans, that Pliny calls it *mensarum insania*. They were beautifully veined and spotted. See his account of them, Lib. xiii. Sect. 29. I do not find that the *Atlantick stone* or marble was so celebrated: the *Numidicus lapis* and *Numidicum marmor* are often mentioned in Roman authors. NEWTON.

This citron wood, which grew upon Mount Atlas in Mauritania, was held by the Romans equally valuable with gold, if not superiour to it. Hence Martial, L. xiv. *Ep.* lxxxix.

“ Accipe felices, *Atlantica* munera, sylvas

“ Aurea qui dederit, dona minora dabit.”

And Varro, De R. R. iii. 2. “ Nuncubi hic vides *citrum*, aut *aurum*.”

Milton, I should suppose, did not mean to celebrate any marble under the name of “Atlantick stone.” Indeed it does not appear that the Romans ever used marble for tables. *Atlantick* must therefore have a reference to this citron wood, which is said to have grown no where but upon Mount Atlas. It might perhaps be called “Atlantick marble” or “stone,” from its marble-like appearance; being curiously veined and spotted. DUNSTER.

Ver. 117. *Their wines of Setia, Cales, and Falerne,*

Chios, and Crete,] The three former were of the most famous Campanian wines among the Romans. The *Falernian* was commonly considered as their prime wine. Hence Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 96.

— “ nec cellis ideo contende *Falernis*.”

And Tibullus, speaking of the Falernian district, terms it “*Bacchi cura, Falernus ager*.” L. i. *El.* 9.

Martial speaks of *Setia*, now *Sezza*, famous for its wine, and its situation on the brow of a hill, L. xiii. *Ep.* 112.

“ Pendula Pomptinos quæ spectat *Setia* campos

“ Exiguâ vetulos misit ab urbe cados,”

Chios, and Crete, and how they quaff in gold,
 Crystal, and myrrhine cups, emboss'd with gems
 And studs of pearl; to me should'st tell, who
 thirst

120

See also L. x. *Ep.* 74.

And Horace speaks of the *Calenian* wine as a luxury of the highest kind, *Od.* I. xxxi. 9.

Pliny, speaking of the wines imported into Italy, says, "in summâ gloria fuerunt Thasium *Chiumque*. Ex Chio quod *Arvifium* vocant." xiv. 7. And Virgil, *Ecl.* v. 71.

"*Vina novum fundam calathis Arvifia neëar.*

Silius Italicus likewise terms it, lib. vii. 210.

"*Ambrosiis Arvifia pocula succis.*"

Horace places the *Chian* among the rich wines in the miser's cellar, *Sat.* II. iii. 115; he likewise alludes to the high estimation in which this wine was held, *Ode* III. xix. 5.

The wines of *Crete* are joined with those of Chios or Scios, by Tasso, *Gerusal.* Lib. i. 78. And *Cretan* wine is mentioned, together with the *Chian* and other celebrated wines of Greece, by Ælian; *Var. Hist.* xii. 31. DUNSTER.

Ver. 118. ————— how they quaff in gold,

Crystal, and myrrhine cups, emboss'd with gems

And studs of pearl;] *Crystal* and *myrrhine* cups are

often joined together by ancient authors. "Murrhina et crystallina ex eadem terra effodimus, quibus pretium faceret ipsa fragilitas. Hoc argumentum opum, hæc vera luxuriæ gloria existimata est, habere quod posset statim totum perire." Plin. Lib. xxxiii. *Præm.* We see that Pliny reckons *myrrhine* cups among fossils; Scaliger, Salmastius, and others, contend from this verse of Propertius, iv. 26.

"Murrheaque in Parthis pocula costâ focis,"

that they were like our porcelain: but if they were so very fragile as they are represented to be, it is not easy to conceive how they could be *emboss'd with gems and studs of pearl.* I sup-

And hunger still. Then embassies thou show'st
 From nations far and nigh : what honour that,
 But tedious waste of time, to sit and hear
 So many hollow compliments and lies,
 Outlandish flatteries ? Then proceed'st to talk 125
 Of the emperour, how easily subdued,
 How gloriously : I shall, thou say'st, expel
 A brutish monster ; what if I withal
 Expel a Devil who first made him such ?
 Let his tormenter conscience find him out ; 130

pose our author asserted it from the words immediately following in Pliny ; “ Nec hec fuit satis : turba gemmarum potamus, et smaragdus teximus calices : ac temulentia causa tenere Indiam juvat : et aurum jam accessio est.” Or perhaps the words, *embassies with gems, &c.* refer only to *gold* first mentioned, which is no unusual construction. *They quasi in gold embass'd with gems, and drest in pearls.* NEWTON.

Compare a most beautiful passage in P. Fletcher's *Purp. Island*, c. i. l. 26.

“ That they may *drink in pearls*, and couch their head
 “ In soft, but sleepless down ; in rich, but restless bed.”

Then follow, in the 27th stanza, which Mr. Dunster also notes,

“ Oh ! let them *in their gold quaff*, dropies down.”

Ver. 124. *So many hollow compliments and lies,
 Outlandish flatteries ?* } Possibly not without an allusion to the congratulatory embassies on the Restoration.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 130. *Let his tormentor conscience find him out ;*] Milton, as Dr. Jortin observes, had here in his mind Tacitus, who, having related the extraordinary letters written by Tiberius to the Senate, adds ; “ Adeo facinora atque flagitia sua ipsi quoque in supplicium verberant. Neque frustra præstantissimus sapientiæ firmare solitus est, si recludantur tyrannorum mentes, posse aspicere

For him I was not sent ; nor yet to free
 That people, victor once, now vile and base ;
 Deservedly made vassal ; who, once just,
 Frugal, and mild, and temperate, conquer'd well,
 But govern ill the nations under yoke, 135
 Peeling their provinces, exhausted all
 By lust and rapine ; first ambitious grown

laniatus et ictus, quando ut corpora verberibus, ita sævitiâ, libidine, malis consultis, animus dilaceretur. Quippe Tiberium non fortuna, non solitudines protegebant, quin tormenta pectoris suasque ipse pœnas fateretur." *Annal.* vi. 6. DUNSTER.

Compare *Samson Agon.* v. 623.

" Thoughts, my tormenters, arm'd with deadly stings &c."

Ver. 132. *That people, victor once, now vile and base ; &c.*] This description of the corruption and decline of the Roman empire, contained in this and the following ten lines, is at once concisely fine, and accurately just. DUNSTER.

Ver. 136. *Peeling their provinces,*] This expression might be suggested by the well-known answer of Tiberius, at a time when his conduct was consistent with it. Being urged by some provincial governors to require an increase of tribute from the subject provinces, he replied, that " a good shepherd would be content to shear his sheep without slaying them :"—boni pastoris esse tondere pecus, non deglubere. Sueton. *Tiber.* c. 32.

DUNSTER.

Peeling is pillaging their provinces ; originally spelt *pillling* by Chaucer and Spenser. Thus in *The Legend of Dido*, v. 337.

" Or ben unkinde, or doen her some mischefe,

" Or *pilled* her, or boasted of his dede."

See also Barret's *Alvearie*, 1584 : " To *pill* or *poll*."

Ibid. ————— *exhausted all*

By lust and rapine ;] The rapine, by which the provinces subject to the Romans were drained and exhausted, was most notorious. The exactions of Verres in Sicily were estimated

Of triumph, that insulting vanity ;
Then cruel, by their sports to blood inur'd

by Cicero at a sum exceeding three hundred thousand pounds of our money. The oppression of the Asiatic provinces, by the Roman proconsuls and tax-gatherers, is particularly complained of in a speech of Mithridates, in Justin, L. xxxviii. C. 7.—Cicero, in his Oration *de provinciis consularibus*, brings many severe accusations of this kind against L. Piso and A. Gabinus, at that time proconsuls in Macedonia and Syria. DUNSTER.

Ver. 139. *Then cruel, by their sports to blood inur'd
Of fighting men, and men to brasts expos'd ;
Luxurious by their wealth, and greedier still,
And from the daily scene effeminate.*]

The connection of luxury, cruelty, and effeminacy, has been often remarked in all ages. Athenæus notices the cruelty of the people of Miletus as connected with their luxury ; and, speaking of some Scythian nations, he describes them advancing in cruelty, in proportion as they plunged themselves in luxury and effeminacy, καὶ πρῶτοι ἐν τῷ ΤΡΥΦΑΝ ὀρμήσαντες, εἰς τὸ το προῆλθον ὑβρείως, ὡς πᾶντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς οὓς ἀφικνίοντο ἡκροτησίᾳ τὰς ψυχὰς. p. 525. Ed. Caufab. The Ionians are described by the same author as “ devoid of philanthropy, cheerfulness, and even natural affection, and shewing upon all occasions a disposition of the most unfeeling kind ;” and at the same time he notices “ their habits of luxury and effeminacy,” τὰ Ἰωνῶν ὄνη τετρωτέρα. p. 625. Tacitus connects luxury and cruelty together in the character of Otho. Having spoken of Vitellius as “ ventre et gula sibi ipsi hostis,” he adds, “ Otho, *luxu, scævitia*, audaciâ, reipublicæ exitiosior ducebatur.” *Hist.* ii. 31. The effeminacy of the Romans, as luxury advanced, became a subject of complaint and censure to all their moralists and historians. “ Miramur,” says Columella, “ gestus effœminatorum, quod a naturâ sexum viris denegatum muliebri motu mentiantur, decipiântque oculos spectantium.” L. i. Nero assumed the dress and behaviour of a woman, and was actually several times married, with much ostentation of the nuptial rites, to several of his minions. Elagabalus imitated his example in this, and in other disgraceful instances. Milton

Of fighting beasts, and men to beasts expos'd; 140
 Luxurious by their wealth, and greedier still,
 And from the daily scene effeminate.
 What wise and valiant man would seek to free
 These, thus degenerate, by themselves enslav'd?
 Or could of inward slaves make outward free?

probably alluded to some of these circumstances in the Roman history.

Luxurious by their wealth, and greedier still, is from Manilius, iv. 10.

“*Luxuriâque lucris emimus, luxûque rapinas.*”

DUNSTER.

The poet, in his *History of England*, at the conclusion, thus speaks of the dissolute life of the English: “The great men given to *gluttony* and *dissolute life*—the meaner sort spent all they had in *drunkenness*—attended with other *vices* which *effeminate* men’s minds.”

Ver. 140. *Of fighting beasts, and men to beasts expos’d;*] The *fighting beasts* are a poor instance of the Roman cruelty in their sports, in comparison of the gladiators; who might have been introduced so naturally and easily here, only by putting the word *gladiators* in place of the other two, that one may very well be surpris’d at the poet’s omitting them. See Seneca’s viith Epistle.

CALTON.

Beast-fights were exhibited among the Romans with great variety. Sometimes, by bringing water into the amphitheatre, even sea-monsters were introduced for the purpose of combating with wild beasts. This is mentioned by Calphurnius, *Ecl. vii. 65*. The men that fought with wild beasts were called *bestiarii*. These were principally condemned persons; although there were some who hired themselves like *gladiators*. DUNSTER.

Ver. 145. *Or could of inward slaves make outward free?*] This noble sentiment Milton explains more fully, and expresses more diffusively, in his *Paradise Lost*, B. xii. 90.

Know therefore, when my season comes to fit
On David's throne, it shall be like a tree

—————" therefore since he permits
" Within himself unworthy powers to reign
" Over free reason, God in judgement just
" Subjects him from without to violent lords; &c."

So also again, in his xiith *Sonnet*,

" Licence they mean, when they cry Liberty;
" *For who loves that, must first be wise and good.*"

No one had ever more refined notions of true liberty than Milton, and I have often thought that there never was a greater proof of the weakness of human nature, than that he, with a head so clear, and a heart, I really believe, perfectly honest and disinterested, should concur in supporting such a tyrant, and professed trampler upon the liberties of his country, as Cromwell was. THYER.

The following citation, from a truly philosophical work, may be no improper comment on this passage of Milton. " Were a nation given to be moulded by a sovereign, as clay is put into the hands of the potter, this project of bestowing liberty on a people who are actually servile, is perhaps of all others the most difficult, and requires most to be executed in silence, and with the deepest reserve. Men are qualified to receive this blessing, only in proportion as they are made to apprehend their own rights, and are made to respect the just pretensions of mankind; in proportion as they are willing to sustain in their own persons the burthen of government and of national defence, and to prefer the engagements of a liberal mind to the enjoyments of sloth, and the delusive hopes of a safety purchased by submission and fear." *Ferguson on Civil Society*, p. 6. f. 5. DUNSTER.

Ver. 146. *Know therefore, when my season comes to fit
On David's throne, &c.*] A particular manner of expression, but frequent in Milton; as if he had said, Know therefore when the season comes to fit on David's throne, that throne *shall be like a tree* &c. alluding to the parable of the mustard-seed grown into "*a tree, so that the birds lodge in the*

Spreading and overshadowing all the earth ;
 Or as a stone, that shall to pieces dash
 All monarchies besides throughout the world ; 150
 And of my kingdom there shall be no end :
 Means there shall be to this ; but what the means,
 Is not for thee to know, nor me to tell.

To whom the Tempter, impudent, replied.
 I see all offers made by me how slight 155
 Thou valuest, because offer'd, and reject'st :
 Nothing will please the difficult and nice,

branches thereof," Matt. xiii. 32 ; and to, (what that parable also respects,) Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the great "*tree whose height reached unto heaven, and the sight thereof to the end of all the earth,*" Dan. iv. 11. Tertullian also compares the kingdom of Christ to that of Nebuchadnezzar. See Grotius in *Matt.*

Or as a stone, &c. alluding to the stone in another of Nebuchadnezzar's dreams, which brake the image in pieces, and so this kingdom "*shall break in pieces, and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever.*" Dan. ii. 44. "*And of my kingdom there shall be no end :*" the very words of *Luke*, i. 33, with the only necessary change of the person. NEWTON.

There is probably an allusion also to *Psalms* ii. 9, which prefigures the kingdom of Christ triumphant over all nations : "*Thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel.*"

Ver. 157. *Nothing will please the difficult and nice,*] Mr. Jortin and Mr. Symphon say, that perhaps we should read "*these* difficult and nice:" But I think the *ictus* falls better in the common reading, and the sentence is better as a general observation. NEWTON.

And yet, by the *particular* application of *nicely* to Christ, in ver. 277 of this Book, the conjecture of Jortin and Symphon seems supported.

Or nothing more than still to contradict :
 On the other side know also thou, that I
 On what I offer set as high esteem, 160
 Nor what I part with mean to give for nought ;
 All these, which in a moment thou behold'st,
 The kingdoms of the world, to thee I give,
 (For, given to me, I give to whom I please,)
 No trifle ; yet with this reserve, not else, 165
 On this condition, if thou wilt fall down,
 And worship me as thy superiour lord,

Ver. 166. *On this condition, if thou wilt fall down,
 And worship me as thy superiour lord,*] In my
 opinion, (and Mr. Thyer concurs with me in the observation,)
 there is nothing in the disposition and conduct of the whole poem
 so justly liable to censure, as the awkward and preposterous in-
 troduction of this incident in this place. The Tempter should
 have proposed the condition at the same time that he offered the
 gifts, as he doth in Scripture ; but after his gifts had been abso-
 lutely refused, to what purpose was it to propose *the impious con-
 dition* ? Could he imagine that our Saviour would accept the
 kingdoms of the world upon *the abominable terms* of falling down
 and worshipping him, just after he had rejected them unclogged
 with any terms at all ? Well might the author say that Satan
impudent replied ; but that doth not solve the objection.

NEWTON.

I differ entirely from Dr. Newton and his very able coadjutor,
 respecting this part of the poem. The management of the poet
 seems so far from objectionable, that I conceive this passage to
 be a striking instance of his great judgement in arranging his
 work, as well as of his great skill in decorating it. The con-
 duct and demeanour of Satan had hitherto been artfully plausible,
 and such as seemed most likely to forward his designs. At the
 beginning of this Book, after repeated defeats, he is described
 desperate of success, and “ flung from his hope ;” but still he
 proceeds. Upon his next attack failing, the paroxysm of his

(Easily done,) and hold them all of me;
For what can less so great a gift deserve?

Whom thus our Saviour answer'd with disdain.
170

I never lik'd thy talk, thy offers less;
Now both abhor, since thou hast dar'd to utter

desperation rises to such a height, that he is completely thrown off his guard, and at once betrays himself and his purpose, by bringing forward, with the most intemperate indiscretion, those *abominable terms*, which, could it have been possible for his temptations to have succeeded, we may imagine were intended in the end to have been proposed to our Lord. This then is the ἀναγνώσις, or full discovery who Satan really was; for it must be observed, that though Jesus in the first Book (ver. 356.) had declared that he knew the Tempter through his disguise, still the Temptation proceeds in the same manner as if he had not known him: at least our Lord's conduct is not represented as influenced by any suspicion of an insidious adversary. As to *proposing the condition together with the gifts*; this I conceive could not be done without changing the whole plan of the poem, as by pushing the question immediately to a point, it must have precluded the gradually progressive temptations which the poet so finely brings forward. It might perhaps have been wished that the circumstance of Satan's betraying himself and his purpose, under the irritation of defeat and desperation, had been kept back till the subsequent temptation, in the highly-finished description of Athens with all its pride of learning and philosophy, had been tried, and had also failed. But the apologetick speech of Satan (ver. 196.) in which he recovers himself from his intemperate impetuosity, and repairs the indiscretion of his present violent irritation, so far as to pave the way for another temptation, is not only marked with such singular art and address as is truly admirable, but likewise gives a material variety and relief to this part of the poem; which I cannot wish to have been in any respect different from what it is, as I do not conceive that even Milton himself could have improved it. DUNSTER.

The abominable terms, impious condition :
 But I endure the time, till which expir'd
 Thou hast permission on me. It is written, 175
 The first of all commandments, Thou shalt
 worship

The Lord thy God, and only him shalt serve ;
 And dar'st thou to the Son of God propound
 To worship thee accurs'd ? now more accurs'd
 For this attempt, bolder than that on Eve, 180
 And more blasphemous ; which expect to rue.
 The kingdoms of the world to thee were given ?
 Permitted rather, and by thee usurp'd ;
 Other donation none thou canst produce.
 If given, by whom but by the King of kings, 185
 God over all supreme ? If given to thee,
 By thee how fairly is the giver now
 Repaid ! But gratitude in thee is lost
 Long since. Wert thou so void of fear or shame,
 As offer them to me, the Son of God ? 190
 To me my own, on such abhorred pact,

Ver. 185. ———— *the King of kings,*
God over all supreme ?] I Tim. vi. 15. " Who
 is the blessed and only potentate, *the King of kings, and Lord of*
lords." And " Who is *over all*, God blessed for ever." Romans,
 ix. 5. DUNSTER.

Ver. 188. ———— *But gratitude in thee is lost*
Long since.] Milton had made Satan declare
 " long" before,

—————" all good to me is lost ;
 " Evil be thou my good !" *Par. Lost*, B. iv. 109.
 DUNSTER.

That I fall down and worship thee as God?
Get thee behind me ; plain thou now appear'st
That Evil-one, Satan for ever damn'd.

To whom the Fiend, with fear abash'd, replied.
Be not so fore offended, Son of God, 196
Though Sons of God both Angels are and Men,
If I, to try whether in higher sort
Than these thou bear'st that title, have propos'd
What both from Men and Angels I receive, 200
Tetrarchs of fire, air, flood, and on the earth,
Nations beside from all the quarter'd winds,
God of this world invoc'd, and world beneath:
Who then thou art, whose coming is foretold
To me most fatal, me it most concerns ; 205
The trial hath indamag'd thee no way,
Rather more honour left and more esteem ;

Ver. 194. *That Evil-one.*] The ὁ πονηρὸς, the pre-eminently wicked one. See Dr. Lort's *Short Commentary on the Lord's Prayer*, in which he proves this to be one of the three names, applied to the great Apostate Spirit in Scripture, pp. 24, 25.

Ver. 195. ————— *with fear abash'd*] He was also *abash'd* on a former occasion, *Par. Lost*, B. iv. 846.

Ver. 201. *Tetrarchs of fire, air, flood, and on the earth,*] See Mr. Warton's note on *Il. Pens.* v. 93.

Ver. 203. *God of this world in w^ok'd,*] Milton pursues the same notion which he had adopted in his *Paradise Lost*, of the Gods of the Gentiles being the fallen Angels, and he is supported in it by the authority of the primitive fathers, who are very unanimous in accusing the heathens of worshipping devils for deities. THYER.

The devil, in Scripture, is termed "*the God of this world*," II Cor. iv. 4. DUNSTER.

As morning shows the day : be famous then
 By wisdom ; as thy empire must extend,
 So let extend thy mind o'er all the world
 In knowledge, all things in it comprehend.
 All knowledge is not couch'd in Moses' law, 225
 The Pentateuch, or what the Prophets wrote ;
 The Gentiles also know, and write, and teach
 To admiration, led by Nature's light,
 And with the Gentiles much thou must converse,
 Ruling them by persuasion, as thou mean'st ; 230
 Without their learning, how wilt thou with them,

The poet alludes also to St. *Matthew*, xvi. 3. "*And in the morning, it will be foul weather to day ; for the sky is red.*"

DUNSTER.

Ver. 221. ————— *be famous then*

By wisdom ;] We are now come to the last temptation, properly so called ; and it is worth the reader's while to observe how well Satan has pursued the scheme which he had proposed in council, B. ii. 225.

" Therefore with manlier objects we must try

" His constancy ; with such as have more show

" Of worth, of honour, glory, and popular praise."

The gradation also in the several allurements proposed is very fine ; and I believe one may justly say, that there never was a more exalted system of morality comprised in so short a compass. Never were the arguments for vice dressed up in more delusive colours, nor were they ever answered with more solidity of thought, or acuteness of reasoning. THYER.

Ver. 230. *Ruling them by persuasion, as thou mean'st ;*] Alluding to those charming lines, B. i. 221.

" Yet held it more humane, more heavenly, first

" By winning words to conquer willing hearts,

" And make persuasion do the work of fear." NEWTON.



Or they with thee, hold conversation meet?
 How wilt thou reason with them, how refute
 Their idolisms, traditions, paradoxes?
 Error by his own arms is best evinc'd. 235
 Look once more, ere we leave this specular mount,
 Westward, much nearer by south-west, behold;
 Where on the Ægean shore a city stands,

Ver. 234. — [*idolisms, traditions, paradoxes?*] *Idolisms* is, I believe, a word of Milton's own fabrication. It seems not so much to mean the idolatrous worship of the Gentiles, as the opinions with which they might endeavour to defend it. By *traditions*, we may understand opinions collected from those philosophers who instructed publicly, without committing any of their precepts to writing; which was the case with Pythagoras, Numa, and Lycurgus. See the lives of the two latter by Plutarch. And *paradoxes* allude to the paradoxes of the Stoick philosophers, then in high repute. DUNSTER.

Ver. 235. [*Error by his own arms is best evinc'd.*] *Evinc'd* is here used in its Latin signification of *subdued* or *conquered*; in which sense it is more forcible and appropriate, than, as it is more commonly used by us, to *show*, or *prove*. DUNSTER.

Ver. 236. — [*this specular mount,*] See the notes on *Par. Lost*, B. xii. 588.

Ver. 237. [*Westward, much nearer by south-west,*] This might be understood W. by S. that is, one point from west towards south-west; which is nearly the actual position of Athens, with respect to Mount Niphates. Or it may only mean, that our Lord had no occasion to change his situation on the western side of the mountain (see ver. 25. of this Book); but only, as the latitude of Athens was four degrees southward of that of Rome, that he must now direct his view so much more toward the south-west, than when he was looking at Rome, which lay nearly due west, or in a small degree north-west, of Mount Niphates.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 238. [*Where on the Ægean shore a city stands,*] The

Built nobly, pure the air, and light the foil;
Athens, the eye of Greece, mother of arts 240

following description of Athens, and its learning, is extremely grand and beautiful. Milton's Muse, as was before observed, is too much cramped down by the argumentative cast of his subject, but emerges upon every favourable occasion; and, like the sun from under a cloud, bursts out into the same bright vein of poetry, which shines out more frequently, though not more strongly, in the *Paradise Lost*. THYER.

I cannot persuade myself that our author, when he selected his subject, and formed his plan, considered himself as any ways *cramped down* by it. I have no doubt that he looked forward with pleasure to the opportunities, which he foresaw it would afford him, of introducing this and other admirable descriptions; and that he was particularly aware of the great effect which the *argumentative cast* of part of his poem would give to that which is purely *descriptive*. DUNSTER.

Ver. 239. *Built nobly,*] Homer, speaking of Athens, calls it a *well-built city*, Il. ii. 546.

Οἱ δ' ἄρ' Ἀθῆνας εἶχον εὐκτίμῳ πολέεσσι. NEWTON.

Ibid. ——— *pure the air, and light the foil;*] Attica being a mountainous country, the foil was light, and the air sharp and pure; and therefore said to be productive of sharp wits.—τὴν εὐκράσιαν τῶν ὄρων ἐν αὐτῷ κατιδέσθαι, ὅτι φρονιμωτάτης ἀνδρας οἶσει. Plato in *Timæo*. p. 24. vol. 3. Ed. Serr. “Athenis tenue cælum, ex quo acutiores etiam putantur Attici.” Cicero, *De Fato*, 4. NEWTON.

Pure the air, and light the foil, Mr. Calton remarks, is from Dio Chrysostom. *Orat.* vii. where, speaking of Attica, he says, ἵνα γὰρ τὴν χεῖραν ἀραιὰν, καὶ τὸν αἶρα κέφον. A variety of passages, which assert the clearness and pureness of the air of Athens, may be seen in Gronov. Thesaur. Gr. Antiq. *De Fortuna Atticarum*, vol. 5. p. 1696, edit. fol. 1699.

Ver. 240. *Athens, the eye of Greece,*] Demosthenes somewhere calls Athens *the eye of Greece*, ὀφθαλμὸς Ἑλλάδος; but I

And eloquence, native to famous wits

cannot at present recollect the place. In Justin it is called one of the two *eyes* of Greece, Sparta being the other, (L. v. C. 8.) and Catullus (xxxii. 1.) terms Sirmio the *eye* of islands;

“ Peninsularum Sirmio, infularúmque

“ *Ocelle.*”

But the metaphor is more properly applied to *Athens* than any other place, as it was the great seat of learning. NEWTON.

I cannot discover the passage in Demosthenes referred to by Dr. Newton. Thyfius, in a note on Justin, (L. ii. C. 6. *Ed. Varior.*) and on a passage of Valerius Maximus, (*Ed. Varior.* L. i. C. 6. *Exempl. Extern.* 1.), notices that Athens is mentioned by Demosthenes under this description, *the eye of Greece*: but no reference is made to the particular passage. Cicero, in his Oration *Pro Lege Manilia*, C. v. calls Corinth “*totius Græciæ lumen*,” upon which Hotoman observes, “*alludens, opinor, ad Leptinis dictum, qui Corinthum alterum Græciæ oculum, Athenas alterum appellavit.*” Aristotle, speaking of metaphors, (*Rhetoric.* L. iii. C. x. S. 3.) cites the passage here alluded to, from a speech of Leptines, in which he conjures the Athenians “*that they would not suffer Greece to become ἐτερόφθαλμος, deprived of one of her eyes, by the extinction of Sparta.*” It was not therefore Corinth, but Sparta, to which the orator alluded, as being, next to Athens, the ornament of Greece. The speech must have been spoken on the debate, whether Athens should assist Sparta, when in danger of being over-powered by the Theban league. DUNSTER.

I have also searched in vain for the passage, said to exist in Demosthenes. Philo has the following expression, relating to Athens, “Ὅπερ γὰρ ἐν ὈΦΘΑΛΜΩ ΚΟΡΗ, ἥ ἐν ψυχῇ λογισμός, τῆς ἐν ἙΛΛΑΔΙ ἈΘΗΝΑΙ, Phil. Jud. *Opp.* vol. ii. p. 467. edit. Mangey. This is cited in Gronovius, but I do not find ἐφθαλμός Ἑλλάδος among the other titles therein applied to Athens.

Ibid. ————— *mother of arts*

And eloquence,] Justin, (L. v. C. 9.) terms Athens “*Patria communis eloquentiæ.*” And (L. ii. C. 6.) he says,

Or hospitable, in her sweet recess,
City or suburban, studious walks and shades.
See there the olive grove of Academe,

"*Literæ certe et facundia veluti templum Athenas habent.*" Cicero abounds in panegyrics upon this celebrated feat of learning and eloquence. He describes it *illas omnium doctrinarum inventrices Athenas, in quibus summa dicendi vis et inventa est, et perfecta.*" De Orator. L. i. 13. Ed. Proust. And in his Brutus, sect. 39. he characterises it "*ea urbs, in qua et nata, et alta, sit eloquentia.*" DUNSTER.

It should be added, that "*the mother of eloquence*" was a title peculiarly applied to Athens. See Gronov. Thesaur. Gr. Antiq. vol. v. ed. sup. p. 1730. "*Pervenit ad matrem sermonum Athenas.*" Again, ibid, 'Εν τῇ ΜΗΤΡΙ τῶν λόγων ταῖς Ἀθήναις. The same title existed on an ancient inscription. See ibid, p. 1731.

Ver. 242. — *hospitable,*] Diodorus describes the Athenians as "*hospitable to wits*" of other countries, by admitting all persons whatever to benefit by the instruction of the learned teachers in their city; τὴν πατρίδα κοινὸν παιδευτήριον παριχομένους πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, L. xiii. C. 27. The Athenians were remarkable for their general hospitality towards strangers, to whom their city was always open, and for whose reception and accommodation they had particular officers, under the title of *πρόξενοι*, i. e. *the receivers of strangers in the name of the whole city.*

DUNSTER.

Ver. 244. — *the olive grove of Academe,*] The Academy is always described as a woody, shady, place. Diogenes Laertius calls it *προάστειον ἈΛΕΞΩΔΕΣ*; and Horace speaks of the "*Sylvas Academi,*" 2 Epist. ii. 45. But Milton distinguishes it by the particular name of *the olive grove of Academe*, because the olive was particularly cultivated about Athens, being sacred to Minerva the goddess of the city: he has besides the express authority of Aristophanes, Nub. v. 1001.

'Αλλ' εἰς Ἀκαδημίαν κατιὼν, ὑπὸ ταῖς μοῖραις ἀποθρέξῃς.

NEWTON.

Plato's retirement, where the Attick bird 245

This whole description of the Academe is infinitely charming. Dr. Newton has justly observed that "Plato's Academy was never more beautifully described." "Cicero," he adds, "who has laid the scene of one of his dialogues (*De Fin.* L. v.) there, and who had been himself on the spot, has not painted it in more lively colours."

Plutarch, in his treatise *de exilio*, refers to the three celebrated gymnasia of Athens here noticed by the poet, the Academy, the Lyceum, and the Stoa, or Portico. And the same author, in his *Life of Sylla*, speaking of the Academy, (the trees of which he says Sylla cut down,) describes it to have been more abounding with trees than any part of the suburbs of Athens, ΔΕΝΔΡΟΦΟΡΩΤΑΤΗΝ ποδάρτων. Milton, in the conclusion of his *seventh Elegy*, transfers the title of *umbrosa Academia* to his own university, Cambridge. Cicero, *De Divinat.* L. i. C. 13, speaks of those eminent persons,

"Otia qui studiis læti tenuere decoris,

"Inque Academie umbrifera, nitidoque Lycæo

"Fuderunt claras sæcundi pectoris artes." DUNSTER,

The reader will find an elegant description of the *Academy*, and of the other publick gardens to which the Learned at Athens resorted, in Dr. Falconer's "*Historical View of the Taste for Gardening, and Laying-out Grounds, among the Nations of Antiquity*," p. 30.

Ver. 245. *Plato's retirement,*] Dr. Newton here relates from Diogenes Laertius's *Life of Plato*, that Plato, "being returned to Athens, from his journey to Egypt, settled himself in the Academy, a gymnasium or place of exercise in the suburbs of that city, beset with woods, taking name from Academus, one of the heroes, as Eupolis,

In sacred Academus shady walks.

and he was buried in the Academy, where he continued most of his time teaching philosophy, whence the sect which sprung from him was called Academick."

Trills her thick-warbled notes the summer long;

Ibid. ————— *where the Attick bird*

Trills her thick-warbled notes &c.] Philomela, who according to the fables, was changed into a nightingale, was the daughter of Pandion king of Athens. Hence the nightingale is called *Atthis* in Latin, quasi Attica avis; thus Martial, L. i. *Ep.* 54.

“ Sic ubi multifonâ fervet facer *Atthis* lucus, &c.”

NEWTON.

The nightingale is with peculiar propriety introduced in this description of the Academe; in the neighbourhood of which, we learn from Pausanias (L. i. C. 30.), lay the place called *Colonus Equestris*, which Sophocles has made the scene of his *Œdipus Coloneus*; and which he celebrates as particularly abounding with nightingales, v. 19, and v. 704. DUNSTER.

Ver. 246. *Trills her thick-warbled notes*] Dr. Newton observes that perhaps there never was a verse more expressive of the harmony of the nightingale than this. Homer has a description of the song of that bird, which is not dissimilar, *Odys.* xix. 521.

————— Πανδαρίς κέρη χλωρίς ἀνδῶν
 ἦτε θαμὰ τρωπῶσα χέει ποσὶ θύγα φωνήν.

DUNSTER.

Ibid. ————— *the summer long*;] The nightingale is commonly supposed to sing only in the spring, and not during summer. Milton describes it singing in the end of April, in his *Sonnet to the Nightingale*.

Sappho, in a verse preserved by the Scholiast on Sophocles, *Electr.* 148, terms this bird

ΗΡΟΣ Δ' ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ἱμερόφωνος ἀνδῶν.

Pliny says, that the song of the nightingale continues in its greatest perfection only fifteen days, from which time it gradually declines. “ Afterwards, as summer advances,” he adds, “ it loses all its variety and modulation.” *Mox æstu antro in totum alia vox fit, nec modulata, nec varia.* L. x. 29. It seems therefore extraordinary that our author should here describe this bird

There flowery hill Hymettus, with the sound
Of bees' industrious murmur, oft invites
To studious musing; there Ilissus rolls

of spring, singing "the summer long." We might indeed suppose that this protracted song of the nightingale, was an intended compliment to the classic spot, "Plato's retirement;" as the Thracians affirmed that the nightingales near the tomb of Orpheus sung with uncommon melody, and in a strain far superior to what they did in any other place. *Λέγεται δὲ οἱ Θράκες αὐτῶν ἀιδόντων ἔχουσι νοστιάς ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ τοῦ Ὀρφείως, ταύτας ᾄδον καὶ μελῶν τι ἄδουν.* Pausan. L. ix. C. 30. But on referring to the various passages in the Paradise Lost, where Milton has introduced this bird, it does not appear that he considered it as singing only in the spring. *The song of the nightingale* is in fact one of his favourite circumstances of description, when he is painting a summer's night. DUNSTER.

Ver. 247. *There flowery hill Hymettus, &c.*] Valerius Flaccus calls it *Florea juga Hymetti*, Argonaut, v. 344; and the honey was so much esteemed and celebrated by the ancients, that it was reckoned the best of the Attick honey, as the Attick honey was said to be the best in the world. The poets often speak of the murmur of the bees as inviting to sleep, Virg. *Ecl.* i. 56.

"Sæpe levi somnum suadebit inire fufurro;"

but Milton gives a more elegant turn to it, and says that it *invites to studious musing*, which was more proper indeed for his purpose, as he is here describing the Attick learning.

NEWTON.

Pausanias describes Hymettus as producing those herbs, which are particularly acceptable to bees. *Attica*, c. 32. Ovid gives this mountain the epithet of *ever-flowery*, Met. vii. 701.

"Vertice de summo semper florentis Hymetti."

Silius Italicus notices the *flowers* and *bees* of Hymettus, lib. ii. 217.

"Aut ubi Cecropius, formidine nubis aquosæ,

"Sparfa super flores examina tollit Hymettos."

DUNSTER.

Ver. 249. ————— *Ilissus*] Mr. Calton and

His whispering stream: within the walls, then
 view 250
 The schools of ancient sages; his, who bred
 Great Alexander to subdue the world,
 Lyceum there, and painted Stoa next:

Mr. Thyer have observed with me, that Plato hath laid the scene of his Phædrus on the banks, and at the spring, of this pleasant river.—*χαρίεντα γὰρ καὶ καθαρά καὶ διαφανή τὰ ὕδατια φαίνονται.* Edit. Serr. vol. iii. p. 229. The philosophicol retreat at the spring-head is beautifully described by Plato, in the next page, where Socrates and Phædrus are represented sitting on a green bank, shaded with a spreading platane, of which Cicero hath said very prettily, that it seemeth not to have grown so much by the water which is described, as by Plato's eloquence; “*quæ mihi videtur non tam ipsa aquula, quæ describitur, quam Platonis oratione crevisse.*” *De Orat.* i. 7. NEWTON.

Ver. 251. ————— *who bred*

Great Alexander to subdue the world,] Milton, in his *Elegy* to his former preceptor, Thomas Young, then minister of the church of the English merchants at Hamburg, speaks of his affection for his old master as superiour to that of Alcibiades to Socrates, or of Alexander for Aristotle, *El.* iv. 25.

We are told by Cicero that Aristotle, having observed how Isocrates had risen to celebrity on the sole ground of florid declamation, (*inanem sermōis elegantiam,*) was thereby induced to add to his own stock of solid knowledge, the external grace of oratorical embellishments; which recommended him so much to Philip of Macedon, that he fixed upon him to be preceptor to his son Alexander, whom he wished to be taught at once conduct and eloquence,—“*et agendi præcepta, et loquendi.*” *De Orator.* iii. 41. Ed. Proust. The letter which Philip wrote to Aristotle upon the birth of his son, is preserved by Aulus Gellius. *L.* ix. C. 3. DUNSTER.

Ver. 253. *Lyceum there,*] The *Lyceum* was the school of Aristotle, who had been tutor to Alexander the Great, and was

There shalt thou hear and learn the secret power
Of harmony, in tones and numbers hit 255

the founder of the sect of the Peripateticks, so called, ἀπὸ τοῦ περιπατεῖν, from his *walking*, and teaching philosophy. But there is some reason to question, whether the *Lyceum* was *within the walls*, as Milton asserts. For Suidas says expressly, that it was a place in the suburbs, built by Pericles for the exercising of foldiers: and I find the scholiast upon Aristophanes in the *Irene*, speaks of going into the *Lyceum*, and going out of it again, and *returning back into the city*:—εἰς τὸ Λύκειον εἰσιποῖς—καὶ πάλιν ἐξισθῆς ἐκ τοῦ Λύκειου, καὶ ἄπιοθῆς εἰς τὴν πόλιν. NEWTON.

The establishment of the *Lyceum* has been attributed both to Pisistratus and Pericles. Meursius (*Athenæ Atticæ*, L. ii. C. 3.) supposes that it might have been begun by the former, and completed by the latter. Plutarch ascribes it to Pericles, who, he says, made plantations, and built a *Palæstra* there. See *Life of Pericles*. The same writer (*Sympos. viii. Quæst. 4.*) says that it was dedicated to Apollo, as the god of healing, and thus with propriety, because *health alone can furnish the strength requisite for all corporeal exercises and exertions*.

That the *Lyceum* stood without the walls, appears from the beginning of Plato's *Lysis*, where it is positively described as being *without the walls*; Ἐπορεύομην μὲν ἐξ Ἀκαδημίας, εὐθὺς Λύκειον τὴν ἐξω τευχῶς, ἐπ' αὐτὸ τὸ τεῖχος. Strabo also speaks of some fountains of clear and excellent water without the gates near the *Lyceum*, ἐκτὸς τοῦ Διόχαρου καλουμένων πηλῶν, πλησίον τοῦ Λύκειου. L. ix. p. 397. DUNSTER.

Ibid. ———— *painted Stoa*] *Stoa* was the school of Zeno, whose disciples from the place had the name of Stoicks; and this *Stoa*, or portico, being adorned with variety of paintings, was called in Greek Ποικίλη, or *various*, and here by Milton the *painted Stoa*. See Diogenes Laertius, in the *Lives of Aristotle and Zeno*. NEWTON.

Ver. 255. — *harmony, in tones and numbers hit*
By voice or hand;) So, in *Arcades*, v. 74.

“ If my inferiour hand or voice could hit

“ *Inimitable sounds.*” DUNSTER.

By voice or hand; and various-measur'd verse,
 Æolian charms and Dorian lyric odes,
 And his, who gave them breath, but higher sung,
 Blind Melesigenes, thence Homer call'd,

Ver. 256. ———— *various-measur'd verse,*] This is perhaps what the poet calls "*numerous verse*," Par. Lost, B. v. 150, where see the note.

Ver. 257. *Æolian charms,*] *Æolia carmina*, verses such as those of Alcæus and Sappho, who were both of Mitylene in Lesbos, an island belonging to the Æolians, Hor. *Od.* III. xxx. 13.

" Princeps *Æolium carmen* ad Italos

" Deduxisse modos."

And *Od.* IV. iii. 12.

" Fingent *Æolio carmine* nobilem." NEWTON.

Ibid. ———— *Dorian lyric odes,*] Such as those of Pindar; who calls his lyre *Δωρίαν φόρμιγγα*. *Olymp.* i. 26, &c.

NEWTON.

Ver. 258. *And his, who gave them breath, &c.*] Our author agrees with those writers, who speak of Homer as the father of all kinds of poetry. Such wise men as Dionysius the Halicarnassæan, and Plutarch, have attempted to show that poetry in all its forms, tragedy, comedy, ode, and epitaph, are included in his works.

NEWTON.

Ibid. ———— *but higher sung,*] Thus in the *Lycidas*, v. 85;

" That strain I heard was of a higher mood:"

Homer is here characterised as not only the first, but also the greatest, of poets. DUNSTER.

Ver. 259. *Blind Melesigenes, thence Homer call'd,*] Our author here follows Herodotus, in his life of Homer, where it is said that he was born near the river Meles, and that from thence his mother named him at first Melesigenes,—*τίθεται ὄνομα τῷ παιδὶ Μελισγίνα, ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν ἱπωνυμίαν λαβῶσα*,—and that afterwards when he was blind and settled at Cuma, he was called

Whose poem Phœbus challeng'd for his own: 260
Thence what the lofty grave tragedians taught

Homœr, quasi ὁ μὴ ὄρων, from the term by which the Cumæans distinguished blind persons; ἐντεῖθεν δὲ καὶ τὸν ὄνομα "Ὀμηρος ἐπεκράτησε τῷ Μελησιγίει, ἀπὸ τῆς συμφορῆς, οἱ γὰρ Κυμαῖοι τοὺς τυφλὰς ὀμήρους λέγουσιν. NEWTON.

Ver. 260. *Whose poem Phœbus challeng'd for his own:*] Alluding to a Greek Epigram, in the first book of the *Anthologia*;

Ἡεῖδον μὲν ἰγών, ἐχάρασσε δὲ Διὸς "Ὀμηρος.

Which Fenton has enlarged, and applied to Pope's English *Iliad*.

NEWTON.

Ver. 261. ——— *the lofty grave tragedians*] Æschylus is thus characterised by Quintilian; "Tragedias primum in lucem Æschylus protulit, *sublimis et gravis*, et grandiloquus, &c." L. x. C. 1. Where also the same author, comparing Sophocles and Euripides, says, "*gravitas*, et *cothurnus* et sonus Sophoclis videtur esse sublimior." Tragedy was termed lofty by the ancients from its style, but at the same time not without a reference to the elevated buskin which the actors wore. Thus Claudian, describing tragedy as distinguished from comedy, *De Mall. Theod. Conf.* v. 314.

—— "*alte graditur majore cothurno:*"

And Ovid, *Amor.* L. ii. *El.* 18, speaking of himself as having written tragedy, but being seduced from so grave an employment by the charms of his mistress, adds,

"Déque *cothurnato vate* triumphat amor."

Again, *Trist.* L. ii. *El.* i. 553, he refers to his *Medea* in similar terms; giving the epithet *gravis* to the *Cothurnus*, or high tragick buskin.

"Et dedimus *tragicis* scriptum regale *cothurnis* :

"Quæque *gravis* debet verba *cothurnus* habet."

Milton, in his brief discourse on tragedy, prefixed to his *Samson Agonistes*, says, "Tragedy, as it was anciently composed, hath ever been held the *gravest*, *morest*, and most profitable of all other poems, &c."

In Chorus or Iambick, teachers best
 Of moral prudence, with delight receiv'd
 In brief sententious precepts, while they treat
 Of fate, and chance, and change in human life, 265

And Ovid had said, *Trist. El. II. i.* 381.

“ Omne genus scripti gravitate Tragœdia vincit.”

DUNSTER.

Ver. 262. — *Chorus or Iambick,*] The two constituent parts of the ancient tragedy were the dialogue, written chiefly in the Iambick measure, and the chorus, which consisted of various measures. The character here given by our author of the ancient tragedy, is very just and noble; and the English reader cannot form a better idea of it in its highest beauty and perfection, than by reading our author's *Samson Agonistes*.

NEWTON.

The *chorus* was the regular place for the moral sentences in the Greek tragedy; although they are frequently introduced by Euripides into the *Iambick*, or dialogue part. DUNSTER.

Ibid. ————— *teachers best*

Of moral prudence, with delight receiv'd

In brief sententious precepts,] This description parti-

cularly applies to Euripides, who, next to Homer, was Milton's favourite Greek author. Euripides is described by Quintilian, “ *sententis densus, et in iis, quæ a sapientibus tradita sunt, pœne ipsis par.*” L. x. C. 1. And Aulus Gellius, (L. xi. C. 4.) citing some verses from the *Hecuba* of Euripides, terms them “ *verbis sententia, brevitate insignes illustresque.*” Aristotle, where he treats of sentences (*Rhetoric*. L. ii. C. 22.), takes almost all his examples from Euripides.

The abundance of moral precepts introduced by the Greek tragic poets in their pieces, and the delight with which they were received, are admirably accounted for by an eminent and excellent writer, Bp. Hurd, in his note on Horace's *Art of Poetry*, v. 219. DUNSTER.

Ver. 265. *Of fate, and chance, and change in human life,*]

The arguments most frequently selected by the Greek tragic

High actions and high passions best describing :

writers, (and indeed by their epick poets also,) were the accomplishment of some oracle, or some supposed decree of *fate*. Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βολή. *Iliad*, i. 5. But the incidents or intermediate circumstances which led to the destined event, according to their system, depended on fortune, or *chance*. *Fate* and *chance* then furnished the subject and incidents of their dramas; while the catastrophe produced the *peripetia*, or change of fortune. The history of *Œdipus*, one of their principal dramatic subjects, was here perhaps in our author's mind. The *fate* of *Œdipus* was foretold before his birth; the wonderful incidents, that, in spite of every guarded precaution, led to the accomplishment of it, depended apparently on *chance*; the *peripetia*, or change of fortune, produced by the discovery of the oracle being so completely fulfilled, is truly affecting. *Change in human life* might here perhaps not merely refer to the pathetick catastrophes of the Greek tragedy, as it sometimes formed the entire argument of their pieces; of which the *Œdipus Coloneus* is an instance. DUNSTER.

Ver. 266. *High actions and high passions best describing :*] *High actions* refer to *fate* and *chance*, the arguments and incidents of tragedy; high passions to the *peripetia*, or change of fortune, which included the πάθος, or affecting part. *High actions* are the καλὰ πρᾶξις of Aristotle, who, speaking of the tragick poets as distinguished from the writers of comedy, says, οἱ μὲν σιμωτότεροι ΤΑΣ ΚΑΛΑΣ ἐμύζοντο ΠΡΑΞΕΙΣ.

Milton introduces the principal subjects of ancient tragedy in his *Pensersa*, ver. 97, &c.

Mr. Warton, in his note on the 31st verse of the poet's *first Elegy*, censures our author, whom he considers as describing a London theatre, for introducing characters of the Latin and Greek drama. But I rather suppose that his theatre, in this place, was his own closet; where, when fatigued with other studies, he relaxed with his favourite dramatic poets.—The “*sinuosa pompa theatri*,” and afterwards, “*Et delict, et specto*” were merely the creations and ideal decorations of his own vivid imagination, with the work of some favourite dramatick poet before him. He had before said,

Thence to the famous orators repair,
 Those ancient, whose resistless eloquence
 Wielded at will that fierce democratic,
 Shook the arsenal, and fulmin'd over Greece 270

“ Et totum rapiunt me, mea vita, libri.”

And he immediately adds to the supposed description of a theatre, and its exhibitions,

“ Sed neque sub tecto semper, nec in urbe, latemus ;”

where *sub tecto* and *latemus* seem to imply that all this passed in his father's private house. DUNSTER.

Ver. 267. *Thence to the famous orators repair, &c.*] How happily does Milton's versification in this, and the following lines, concerning the Socratick philosophy, express what he is describing! In the first we feel, as it were, the nervous rapid eloquence of Demosthenes, and the latter have all the gentleness and softness of the humble modest character of Socrates.

THYER.

Ver. 268. *Those ancient,*] Milton was of the same opinion as Cicero, who preferred Pericles, Hyperides, Æschines, Demosthenes, and the orators of their times, to Demetrius Phalereus, and those of the subsequent ages. See Cicero, *De claris Oratoribus*. And, in the judgement of Quintilian, Demetrius Phalereus was the first who weakened eloquence, and the last almost of the Athenians who can be called an orator: “ is primus inclinasse eloquentiam dicitur—ultimus est fere ex Atticis qui dici possit orator.” *De Instit. Orat.* x. 1. NEWTON.

Ver. 268. ——— whose resistless eloquence

Wielded at will that fierce democratic,

Shook the arsenal, and fulmin'd over Greece] AL.

luding, as Dr. Newton and Dr. Jortin have both observed, to what Aristophanes has said of Pericles in his *Acharnenses*, A. ii. S. v.

“ Ἡγρᾶπτι, ἰσρόντα, ξυγκύμα την Ἑλλάδα.

For the various authors who have referred, or alluded, to this description of *the resistless eloquence* of Pericles, see Kuster's note

To Macedon and Artaxerxes' throne :
 To sage Philosophy next lend thine ear,
 From Heaven descended to the low-roof'd house
 Of Socrates ; see there his tenement,

on the passage, in his edition of Aristophanes ; where however he has overlooked Quintilian, L. ii. C. 16. & L. xii. C. 10. Cicero, (*Epist. ad Attic.* xv. 1. and *Orator.* Sect. 234. Ed. Proust,) speaks of the “ *fulmina* Demosthenis.” The younger Pliny thus describes the eloquence of his friend Pompeius Saturninus ; “ *Adfunt aptæ, crebræque sententiæ, gravis et decora constructio, sonantia verba et antiqua. Omnia hæc mire placent. Cum impetu quodam et fulmine prævehuntur :*” And, in the xith *Æneid*, Virgil makes Turnus, in his speech to Drances, say

“ *Proinde tonæ eloquio ; solitum tibi.*”

Longinus, speaking of the superiour power of Demosthenes in oratory to the publick speakers of any age, expresses himself in a similar figure of speech, sect. xxxiv. ΚΑΤΑΒΡΟΝΤΑ καὶ ΚΑΤΑΦΕΙΤΕΙ τὸς ἀπ' αἰῶνος ῥήτορας ; κ. τ. λ. DUNSTER.

Ver. 271. *To Macedon and Artaxerxes' throne :*] As Pericles and others *fulmin'd over Greece to Artaxerxes throne* against the Persian king, so Demosthenes was the orator particularly, who *fulmin'd over Greece to Macedon* against king Philip, in his Oration, therefore denominated Philippicks. NEWTON.

Ver. 273. *From heaven descended to the low-roof'd house Of Socrates ;*] Mr. Calton thinks the author alludes to Juvenal, *Sat.* xi. 27.

—— “ *e cælo descendit γὰρ σταντόν.*”

as this famous Delphick precept was the foundation of Socrates's philosophy, and ^{so} much used by him, that it hath passed with some for his own. Or, as Mr. Warburton and Mr. Thyer conceive, the author here probably alludes to what Cicero says of Socrates, “ *Socrates autem primus philosophiam devocavit e cælo, et in urbibus collacavit, et in domus etiam introduxit.*” *Tusc. Diss.* V. 4. But he has given a very different sense to the words either by design or mistake, as Mr. Warburton observes. It is

Whom well inspir'd the oracle pronounc'd 275
 Wisest of men; from whose mouth issued forth
 Mellifluous streams, that water'd all the schools

properly called *the low-roof'd house*; "for I believe," said Socrates, "that if I could meet with a good purchaser, I might easily get for my goods, and house and all, five pounds." See Xenophon, *Oeconomic*. Five minæ, or Attick pounds, were better than sixteen pounds of our money, a *mina*, according to Barnard, being three pounds eight shillings and nine-pence. NEWTON.

In the *Clouds* of Aristophanes, (ver. 92.) where Strepsiades points out the habitation of Socrates to his son, he uses the diminutive οἰκίδιον, *ædicula*, small house, or *tenement*. DUNSTER.

Ver. 275. *Whom well inspir'd the oracle pronounc'd
 Wisest of men;*] The verse, delivered down to us upon this occasion, is this;

Ἀδρῶν ἀπάντων Σωκράτης σοφώτατος.

"Of all men Socrates is the wisest." NEWTON.

Ver. 276. ——— from whose mouth issu'd forth
 Mellifluous streams, that water'd all the schools

Of Academicks &c.] Thus Quintilian calls Socrates *fons philosophorum*. L. i. C. 10. As the ancients looked upon Homer to be the father of poetry, so they esteemed Socrates the father of moral philosophy. Thus Cicero, (*Academic*. L. i. C. 4;) "Socrates mihi videtur, id quod constat inter omnes, primus a rebus occultis et ab ipsa natura involutis, in quibus omnes ante eum philosophi occupati fuerunt, avocavisse philosophiam, et ad vitam communem adduxisse; &c." and, speaking of the Academick and Peripatetick schools, he says, "idem fons erat utriusque." The different sects of philosophers were indeed so many different families, which all acknowledged Socrates for their common parent. Cicero, speaking of him, (*Tusc. Disp.* L. v. C. 4,) says—"cujus multiplex ratio disputandi, rerumque varietas, et ingenii magnitudo, Platonis memoria et literis consecrata, plura genera effecit dissentientium philosophorum." And, (*De Orator*. L. iii. C. 16.) "Nam cum essent plures orti fere a Socrate, quod ex illius variis, et diversis, et in omnem partem

Of Academicks old and new, with those
 Surnam'd Peripateticks, and the sect
 Epicurean, and the Stoick severe; 280
 These here revolve, or, as thou lik'st, at home,
 Till time mature thee to a kingdom's weight;
 These rules will render thee a king complete

diffusis disputationibus alius aliud apprehenderat; profeminatæ sunt quasi familiæ dissentientes inter se, et multum disjunctæ et dispares, cum tamen omnes se philosophi Socraticos et dici vellent, et esse arbitarentur." NEWTON.

But our author, in speaking here of *the mellifluous streams of philosophy that issued from the mouth of Socrates, and water'd all the various schools, or sects, of philosophers*, had in his mind a passage of Ælian, (*Var. Hist.* L. xiii. C. 22,) where it is said that "Galaton the painter drew Homer as a fountain, and the other poets drawing water from his mouth." Γαλάτων δὲ ὁ ζωγράφος ἔγραψε τὸν μὴν Ὅμηρον αὐτὸν ἱμῆντα, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ποιητὰς τὰ ἱμνισμένα ἀρυμένους. Whence also Manilius, speaking of Homer, L. ii. 8.

———— "cujusque ex ore profusus

"Omnis posteritas latices in carmina duxit,

"Amnemque in tenues ausa est deducere rivos

"Unius sæcunda bonis."

And Ovid, *Amor.* III. ix. 25;

"Adjice Mæonidem, a quo, cœu fonte perenni,

"Vatum Pieris ora rigantur aquis." DUNSTER.

Ver. 278. *Of Academicks old and new,*] The Academick sect of philosophers, like the Greek comedy, had its three epochs, *old, middle, and new*. Plato was the head of the old Academy, Arcefilas of the middle, and Carneades of the new. DUNSTER.

Ver. 280. ————— *Stoick severe;*] Seneca says that the sect of Stoicks were commonly censured "tanquam nimis dura." *De Clement.* ii. 5. And Cicero, (*Pro Murena*, C. 35.) "At enim agit mecum austere et Stoice Cato." DUNSTER.

Ver. 283. *These rules*] There is no mention before of

Within thyself, much more with empire join'd.

To whom our Saviour sagely thus replied. 285
Think not but that I know these things, or think
I know them not; not therefore am I short
Of knowing what I ought: he, who receives
Light from above, from the fountain of light,
No other doctrine needs, though granted true; 290

rules; but of poets, orators, and philosophers. We should read therefore,

“ Their rules will render thee a king complete, &c.”

CALTON.

Ver. 283. ————— a king complete

Within thyself,] See B. ii. 466. And compare
P. Fletcher's *Purp. Isl.* c. viii. ft. 40.

“ Thrice noble is the man, who of himself is king.”

The Italians have an expression to denote the importance of
self-command, “ *nella signoria di me.*”

Ver. 285. *To whom our Saviour sagely thus replied.*] This
answer of our Saviour is as much to be admired for solid reason-
ing, and the many sublime truths contained in it, as the pre-
ceding speech of Satan is for that fine vein of poetry which runs
through it: and one may observe in general, that Milton has
quite throughout this work thrown the ornaments of poetry on
the side of error, whether it was that he thought great truths
best expressed in a grave, unaffected style, or intended to suggest
this fine moral to the reader, that simple naked truth will always
be an over-match for falsehood, though recommended by the
gayest rhetoric, and adorned with the most bewitching colours.

THYER.

Ver. 288. ————— he, who receives

Light from above, from the fountain of light,

No other doctrine needs, though granted true;] It

had been supposed from Milton's acquaintance with Elwood, and
with Mrs. Thomson, (to the memory of whom, under the title

But these are false, or little else but dreams,
 Conjectures, fancies, built on nothing firm.
 The first and wisest of them all profess'd
 To know this only, that he nothing knew ;
 The next to fabling fell, and smooth conceits ; 295

of his *Christian Friend*, he has inscribed a Sonnet,) that he was a Quaker. Mr. Warton observes that this passage of the *Paradise Regained* seems to favour the notion of Milton's Quakerism. But this passage is rather scriptural than sectical; and seems to be built on what is said by St. *James*, i. 17. "Every good and every perfect gift is from above, and cometh down from the father of lights;" which refers to what the apostle had said in the 5th verse of the same chapter: "If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, that giveth to all men liberally, &c." DUNSTER.

I think it probable, that the poet also had in view *Psalms* xxxvi. 9. "For with thee is the fountain of life; and in thy light shall we see light."

Ver. 293. *The first and wisest of them all profess'd*

To know this only, that he nothing knew;] Socrates; of whom Cicero, "Hic in omnibus fere sermonibus, qui ab iis, qui illum audierunt, perscripti varie, copiose sunt, ita disputat, ut nihil adfirmet ipse, refellat alios: nihil se scire dicat, nisi id ipsum: coque præstare ceteris, quod illi quæ nesciant scire se putent; ipse, se nihil scire, id unum sciat." Cicero *Academic.* i. 4. NEWTON.

Diogenes Laertius mentions that Socrates was frequently used to say of himself "that the only thing he knew, was that he knew nothing." εἰδέναι μὲν μὴδὲν, πλὴν αὐτὸ τὸ εἰδέναι. *Vit. Socrat.*

DUNSTER.

Ver. 295. *The next to fabling fell, and smooth conceits;*] Milton, in his Latin Poem, *De Idea Platonica*, terms Plato, "*fabulator maximus*," v. 38. This passage shows our Poet inclined to censure the fictions of the philosopher; which were also noticed, in early times. Diogenes Laertius cites a verse of Timon, to this purpose,

A third sort doubted all things, though plain
 sense;
 Others in virtue plac'd felicity,
 But virtue join'd with riches and long life;
 In corporal pleasure he, and careless ease;

Ὡς ἀνέπλασε Πλάτων πεπλάσμένα δαίμονα εἰδώς.

What wonderous fictions learned Plato fram'd!

Mr. Calton cites a passage from *Parker's Free and Impartial Censure of the Platonick Philosophy*, Oxford, 1667; where it is observed that "Plato and his followers communicated their notions by emblems, fables, symbols, parables, heaps of metaphors, and all sorts of mystical representations." "These," it is afterwards added, "though they are pretty poetick fancies, are infinitely unfit to express philosophical notions and discoveries of the nature of things."

Smooth conceits are the Italian *conceitti*; by which term an Italian writer would, I apprehend, characterise any far-fetched or fine-spun allegories. DUNSTER.

Ver. 296. *A third sort doubted all things, though plain sense;*] These were the Scepticks or Pyrrhonians, the disciples of Pyrrho, who asserted nothing to be either honest or dishonest, just or unjust; that men do all things by law and custom; and that in every thing *this* is not preferable to *that*. This was called the Sceptick philosophy from its continual inspection, and never finding; and Pyrrhonian from Pyrrho. See Stanley's *Life of Pyrrho*, who takes this account from Diogenes Laertius.

NEWTON.

Ver. 297. *Others in virtue plac'd felicity,*
But virtue join'd with riches and long life;] These were the old Academicks, and the Peripateticks the scholars of Aristotle. See Cicero, *Academic.* ii. 42, and *De Fin.* ii. 11.

NEWTON.

Ver. 299. *In corporal pleasure he, and careless ease;*] The *He* is here contemptuously emphatical. Thus Demosthenes, in the opening of his first Philippick, referring to Philip, whom he had not mentioned by name, καὶ τῇ νῦν ἔχει τοῦτο, δὲ ἦν παρατόμθα.

The Stoick last in philosophick pride, 300
By him call'd virtue; and his virtuous man,

And, in the *Paradise Lost*, Satan, in his first speech, when on the burning lake, he “breaks the horrid silence,” speaks of the Deity, in a manner not dissimilar, by the title of “*He with his thunder.*”

Dr. Newton illustrates the sentiments here attributed to Epicurus by a passage from Cicero, who says of him; “*Confirmat illud vel maxime, quod ipsa natura, ut ait ille, ascribat, et reprobet, id est voluptatem et dolorem; ad hæc, et quæ sequamur, et quæ fugiamus, refert omnia.*” *De Fin.* i. 7. But Epicurus may speak for himself. In his Epistle to Menæceus, preserved by Diogenes Laertius, he points out as the only essential and truly interesting objects of a wise man's attention, *τὴν τῷ σώματος ὑγίαν, καὶ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀταραξίαν*, “health of body, and an undisturbed state of mind, &c.”

Lucian, speaking of the same philosopher, has a passage strikingly similar: *Ἀμείναι ὁ μὲν ἀντὶ τῶν παρῆναι τὸ πᾶν ἡδεσθαι, καὶ μόνον τὸ τοῦ παντὸς μετέναι.* *Necysmant.* p. 460. ed. Reitz. Where also, see the account of the Stoicks and Peripateticks, and compare with Milton's account of them here. DUNSTER.

Ver. 300. *The Stoick last &c.*] The reason why Milton presents our Saviour taking such particular notice of the Stoicks above the rest, was probably because they made pretensions to a more refined and exalted virtue than any of the other sects, and were at that time the most prevailing party among the philosophers, and the most revered and esteemed for the strictness of their morals, and the austerity of their lives. The picture of their *virtuous man* is perfectly just, as might easily be shown from many passages in Seneca and Antoninus; and the defects and insufficiency of their scheme could not possibly be set in a stronger light than they are by our author in the lines following.

THYER.

Nine lines are here employed in exposing the errors of the Stoick philosophy, while the other sects have scarcely more than a single line bestowed upon each of them. This is done with great judgement. The reveries of Plato, the superlative scepti-

Wife, perfect in himself, and all possessing
 Equal to God, oft shames not to prefer,
 As fearing God nor man, contemning all 304
 Wealth, pleasure, pain or torment, death and life,
 Which, when he lists, he leaves, or boasts he can,

cism of Pyrrho, the sensuality of Epicurus, and the selfish meanness of the old Academicks and Peripateticks, might well be supposed to carry sufficient confutation along with them. But the tenets of the Stoicks, which had a great mixture of truth with error, and inculcated, among other things, the moral duties, a great degree of self-denial, and the imitation of the Deity, as fixed principles, were worthy of a more particular examination; and required to have their speciousness and insufficiency in other respects more particularly marked and laid open. Add to this the esteem in which the Stoicks were held not only among the philosophers of antiquity, but among some of the early writers on Christianity. Cicero, though no Stoick, says of them, "Licet infectemur istos (Stoicos), metuo ne foli philosophi sint." *Tusc. Diss.* iv. 24. Clemens Alexandrinus in many parts of his works professes himself a Stoick. St. Jerome, in his Commentary on Isaiah, acknowledges that the Stoicks in most points of doctrine agree with the Christians, "Stoici cum nostro dogmate in ple-risque concordant." C. 10. To bring forward, therefore, and to censure in this place the exceptionable doctrines of this sect, was highly becoming the character under which our blessed Lord is here represented and described. DUNSTER.

Ver. 303. *Equal to God,*] Dr. Newton here reads "*Equals to God, &c.*" and conceives the sense to be so much improved, that the omission of the letter *s* must have been an error of the press. I retain the reading in Milton's own edition, as the sense appears sufficiently clear with it, neither do I see any material improvement resulting from the correction.

It seems to me also probable that "all possessing equal to God," was suggested by a passage of Seneca, who is likewise describing the virtuous man of the Stoicks, "*Deorum ritu cuncta possideat.*" *Epist.* xcii. DUNSTER.

For all his tedious talk is but vain boast,
 Or subtle shifts conviction to evade.
 Alas! what can they teach, and not mislead,
 Ignorant of themselves, of God much more, ³¹⁰
 And how the world began, and how man fell
 Degraded by himself, on grace depending?
 Much of the foul they talk, but all awry,

Ver. 307. *For all his tedious talk is but vain boast,
 Or subtle shifts*] *Vain boasts* relate to the Stoical
 paradoxes; and *subtle shifts* to their dialectick, which this sect
 so much cultivated, that they were known equally by the name of
Dialecticians and *Stoicks*. WARBURTON.

Ver. 308. — *subtle shifts conviction to evade.*] “*Stoicorum
 autem non ignoras quam sit subtile, vel spinosum potius, differendi
 genus.*” Cicero, *De Fin.* iii. 1. DUNSTER.

Ver. 310. *Ignorant of themselves, of God much more,
 And how the world began, and how man fell
 Degraded by himself, on grace depending?*] Having
 drawn most accurately the character of the Stoick philosopher,
 and exposed the insufficiency of his pretensions to superiour virtue
 as built on superiour knowledge, the poet here plainly refers to
 the Holy Scriptures, as the only true source of information re-
 specting the Nature of God, the Creation, the Fall of Man, &c.
 They who have never benefited by divine revelation, he inti-
 mates, must bewilder themselves in such researches, and cannot
 but fall into the greatest absurdities, as was the case of the Stoicks
 and other philosophers. DUNSTER.

Ver. 313. *Much of the foul they talk, but all awry,*] See
 what Dr. Warburton has said of the absurd notions of the ancient
 philosophers, concerning the nature of the soul, in his *Divine
 Legation*, Book iii. Sect. 4. NEWTON.

Ibid. ————— *but all awry,*] So, in Drayton's
Polyolbion, S. i.

“But their opinions fall'd by error led awry.”

DUNSTER.

And in themselves seek virtue, and to themselves
 All glory arrogate, to God give none ; 315
 Rather accuse him under usual names,
 Fortune and Fate, as one regardless quite

Ver. 314. *And in themselves seek virtue, and to themselves*

All glory arrogate, to God give none ;] Cicero speaks the sentiments of ancient philosophy upon this point, in the following words : “ propter virtutem enim jure laudamur, et in virtute recte gloriamur : quod non contingeret, si id donum a Deo, non a nobis haberemus. At vero aut honoribus aucti, aut re familiari, aut si aliud quippiam nacti sumus fortuiti boni, aut depulimus mali, cum Diis gratias agimus, tum nihil nostræ laudi assumptum arbitramur. Num quis, quod bonus vir esset, gratias Diis egit unquam ? At quod dives, quod honoratus, quod incolumis. Ad rem autem ut redeam, *judicium hoc omnium mortalium est, fortunam a Deo petendam, a se ipso sumendam esse sapientiam.*” De Nat. Deor. iii. 36. WARBURTON.

Ver. 316. *Rather accuse him under usual names,*

Fortune and Fate,] Thus in the speech which Jupiter addresses to the assembly of the gods in the beginning of the *Odyssey*.

Ω πόποι οἷον δὴ νῦν θεὸς βροτῶν αἰτίωνται.

Ἐξ ἡμῶν γὰρ φασὶ κακ' ἔμμεναι, οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ

Σφῆσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσιν ὑπὲρ μέτρον ἄλλγε' ἔχουσιν.

Several of the ancient philosophers, but especially the Stoicks, thus characterise the Deity. “ Sic hunc naturam vocas, *fatum*, *fortunam* ; omnia ejusdem Dei nomina sunt, varie utentis sua potestate.” De Beneficiis. iv. 8. “ Vis illum *fatum* vocare ? non errabis.” Nat. Quæst. ii. 45. The Stoick poet, Lucan, frequently terms the Deity, *Fate* or *Fortune*, *Pharsal*. i. 87.

“ Vir ferus, et Romam cupienti perdere Fato

“ Sufficiens.”

And *Pharsal*. iii. 96.

—————“ habenti

“ Tam pavidum tibi, Roma, ducem fortuna pepercit.”

DUNSTER.

Of mortal things. Who therefore seeks in these
 True wisdom, finds her not ; or, by delusion,
 Far worse, her false resemblance only meets, 320
 An empty cloud. However, many books,
 Wise men have said, are wearisome ; who reads
 Incessantly, and to his reading brings not
 A spirit and judgement equal or superiour,
 (And what he brings what needs he elsewhere
 seek ?)

325

Ver. 321. *An empty cloud.*] A metaphor taken from the
 fable of Ixion, who embraced an *empty cloud* for a Juno.

NEWTON.

Ibid. ————— *many books,*

Wise men have said, are wearisome ;] Alluding to
Eccles. xii. 12. “ Of making many books there is no end, and
 much study is a weariness of the flesh.” NEWTON.

The same sentiment may be traced to classical authority.
 “ Aiant enim,” says the younger Pliny, “ *multum legendum
 esse, non multa.*” L. viii. *Epist.* 9. It is indeed a Stoical pre-
 cept, and as such Milton might refer to it in the words, *Wise
 men have said*.—Τὴν δὲ βιβλίαν διψᾶν ῥίψον. Antonin. *Meditat.*
 L. xi. 3. “ Do not indulge yourself in a thirst after books.”
 “ Illud autem vide ne ista *lectio multorum auctorum*, et omnis
 generis voluminum, habeat aliquid vagum et instabile. Distrahit
 animum *librorum multitudo.*” Senec. *Epist.* ii. “ Quo mihi
 innumerabiles libros et bibliothecas, quarum dominus vix tota
 vita sua indices perlegit ? *Onerat discitem turba*, non instruit ;
 multoque satius est paucis te auctoribus tradere, quam *errare per
 multos.*” Senec. *De Tranquillitat. Animi.* C. 9. DUNSTER.

Ver. 322. ————— *who reads*

Incessantly, &c.] See the same just sentiment in
Paradise Lost, B. vii. 126.

——“ knowledge is as food, and needs no less

“ Her temperance over appetite, &c.” THYER.

Uncertain and unsettled still remains,
 Deep vers'd in books, and shallow in himself,
 Crude or intoxicate, collecting toys
 And trifles for choice matters, worth a sponge;
 As children gathering pebbles on the shore. 330
 Or, if I would delight my private hours
 With musick or with poem, where, so soon
 As in our native language, can I find
 That solace? All our law and story strew'd
 With hymns, our psalms with artful terms in-
 scrib'd, 335

Ver. 327. *Deep vers'd in books, and shallow in himself,*] Milton would, I conceive, thus have characterised his old antagonist, Salmasius. DUNSTER.

Ver. 329. ————— *worth a sponge;*] Milton most probably alluded to the *sponge* as used by the ancients for the purpose of blotting out any thing they had written, and did not choose to preserve. Thus we read in Suetonius's Life of Augustus, when that emperor had attempted a tragedy on the subject of Ajax, he answered "*Ajaxem suum in spongiam incubuisse.*"—So that *worth a sponge* literally means not worth seeing the light, not worth preserving. DUNSTER.

Milton explains himself in his *Areopagitica*, in a passage of remarkable humour, on the subject of Papal Imprimaturs: "Sometimes five Imprimaturs are seen together dialogue-wise in the piazza of one title-page, complementing and ducking to each other with their shaven reverences, whether the author, who stands by in perplexity at the foot of his epistle, shall to the Prefs, or to the *Sponge*." Prose-W. vol. i. p. 427. ed. 1698.

Ver. 335. ————— *our psalms with artful terms inscrib'd,*] He means the inscriptions often prefixed to the beginning of several psalms, such as *To the chief musician upon Nehiloth*, &c. to denote the various kinds of psalms or instruments.

NEWTON.



Our Hebrew songs and harps, in Babylon
 That pleas'd so well our victors' ear, declare
 That rather Greece from us these arts deriv'd ;
 Ill imitated, while they loudest sing
 The vices of their Deities, and their own, 340
 In fable, hymn, or song, so personating
 Their Gods ridiculous, and themselves past shame.
 Remove their swelling epithets, thick laid

Ver. 336. *Our Hebrew songs and harps, in Babylon*
That pleas'd so well our victors' ear,] This is
 said upon the authority of *Psal.* cxxxvii. 1, &c. NEWTON.

Ver. 338. *That rather Greece from us these arts deriv'd ;*
 This was the system in vogue at that time. It was established
 and supported with vast erudition by Bochart, and carried to an
 extravagant and even ridiculous length, by Huetius and Gale.

WARBURTON.

Clemens Alexandrinus ascribes the invention of hymns and
 songs to the Jews; and says that the Greeks stole theirs from
 them. (*Stromat.* L. i. p. 308. Ed. Colon. 1688.) He also
 charges the Grecian philosophers with stealing many of their
 doctrines from the Jewish prophets. (L. i. p. 312.) DUNSTER.

Dr. Warburton might have referred to an author, who, with
 an extravagance far beyond that of Huetius and Gale, asserts
 this system; I mean Zachary Bogan of Corpus Christi College,
 Oxford, who, in 1658, published "*Homerus Ἑβραϊζων, sive*
Comparatio Homeri cum Scriptoribus Sacris &c."

Ver. 339. *Ill imitated,*] Because the subject of the Hebrew
 Songs was God Himself; the subject of the Grecian, the gross
 and ridiculous deities of their own invention.

Ver. 341. ————— *personating*] This is in the
 Latin sense of *persono*, to celebrate loudly, to publish or proclaim.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 343. ————— *swelling epithets,*] Greek compounds,
 as doctor Warburton observes. Mr. Thyer adds, that the hymns

As varnish on a harlot's cheek, the rest,
Thin fown with aught of profit or delight, 345
Will far be found unworthy to compare
With Sion's songs, to all true tastes excelling,

of the Greek poets consist of very little more than repeated invocations of them by different names and epithets. Jupiter, as Mr. Dunster remarks, is the *cloud-compeller*, or the *ægis-bearer*; Apollo, the *far-darter*, &c. Possibly the epithet *swelling* might have been suggested by a passage in *Jude*, ver. 16, which is applied to false teachers: "Their mouth speaketh great swelling words, having mens persons in admiration because of advantage."

Ver. 343. ————— *thick laid*

As varnish on a harlot's cheek,] The Duke of Buckingham, very possibly, had this passage of Milton in his mind, when he wrote the following lines of his *Essay on Poetry*;

"Figures of speech, which poets think so fine,
"(*Art's needleless varnish to make nature shine,*)
"Are all but *paint upon a beauteous face,*
"And in descriptions only claim a place:"

as Milton, most probably, had the following lines of Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, A. iii. S. i.

"The harlot's cheek, beautied with plastering art,
"Is not more ugly to the thing that helps it,
"Than is my deed to my most painted word."

DUNSTER.

Prynne censures "the recital, acting, and personating of the names, the histories, and notorious villanies" of the *heathen deities*, in a similar figure: "The renewall of their names and memories, the *varnishing of them with fresh and lively colours* in our Stage-Playes, must needs be euill, &c." *Histrio-Mastix*, 1633, part i. p. 80.

Ver. 346. *Will far be found unworthy to compare*

With Sion's songs,] He was of this opinion not only in the decline of life, but likewise in his earlier days, as appears from the preface to his second Book of the *Reason of Church Government*. "Or if occasion shall lead to imitate those

Where God is prais'd aright, and God-like men,
 The Holiest of Holies, and his Saints,
 (Such are from God inspir'd, not such from
 thee,) 350

Unless where moral virtue is express'd
 By light of Nature, not in all quite lost.

magnick odes and hymns wherein Pindarus and Callimachus are in most things worthy, some others in their frame judicious, in their matter most an end faulty. But those frequent songs throughout the law and prophets beyond all these, not in their divine argument alone, but in the very critical art of composition, may be easily made appear, over all the kinds of lyric poetry, to be incomparable." NEWTON.

Ver. 350. (*Such are from God inspir'd, not such from thee,*)

Unless where moral virtue is express'd

By light of Nature, not in all quite lost.] Thus

the passage stands pointed in Dr. Newton's edition; where Mr. Meadowcourt observes that the sense of these lines is highly obscure, and explains them to mean, "Poets from thee inspired are not such as these, unless where moral virtue is expressed &c." But this is very far from satisfactory. Indeed the obscurity, if not caused, is increased by departing from the punctuation of the first edition, which had a semicolon after *not such from thee*. *Unless* certainly has no reference to the immediately preceding line; which I have therefore put in a parenthesis, supposing the exception to refer to ver. 346.

"Will far be found unworthy to compare

"With Sion's songs, &c.

"Unless where moral virtue is express'd

"By light of Nature, not in all quite lost."

I will venture however to suggest a new arrangement of the passage:

—————"the rest

"Thin sown with aught of profit or delight,

"(Unless where moral virtue is express'd

Their orators thou then extoll'st, as those
 The top of eloquence ; statists indeed,
 And lovers of their country, as may seem ; 355
 But herein to our prophets far beneath,
 As men divinely taught, and better teaching
 The solid rules of civil government,
 In their majestick unaffected style,

“ By light of Nature not in all quite lost,
 “ Will far be found unworthy to compare
 “ With Sion's songs to all true tastes excelling,
 “ Where God is prais'd alike and God-like men,
 “ The Holiest of Holies, and his Saints :
 “ Such are from God inspir'd, not such from thee.”

DUNSTER.

I have followed Mr. Dunster's punctuation of this passage ; conceiving it accords with the intention of the poet, in whose edition a semi-colon is placed at the end of ver. 349, as well as of ver. 350. But Mr. Dunster's new arrangement is much more conspicuous.

Ver. 353. ————— as those
The top of eloquence ;] I should prefer “ as
 though.” CALTON.

Those is more in Milton's manner : *Those the top of eloquence*, being a phrase of the same import, as *Scipio the HIGHTH of Rome*, Par. Lost, B. ix. 510.

Ver. 354. ————— *statists*] Or *statesmen*. A word, as doctor Newton observes, in more frequent use formerly ; as in Shakspeare, *Cymbeline*, A. ii. S. v.

—————“ I do believe,
 “ (*Statist* though I am none, nor like to be.)”

And, as Mr. Dunster adds, Milton uses it in his *Prose Works*, vol. i. p. 424. ed. 1698. He uses it also, in the same sense, in his *Prose W.* vol. i. ed. sup. p. 141, and p. 302.

Than all the oratory of Greece and Rome. 360
 In them is plainest taught, and easiest learnt,
 What makes a nation happy, and keeps it so,
 What ruins kingdoms, and lays cities flat;
 These only with our law best form a king.

So spake the Son of God; but Satan, now 365
 Quite at a loss, (for all his darts were spent,)

Ver. 362. ——— *makes a nation happy, and keeps it so,*] Horace, *Epist.* I. vi. 2.

————— “*facere aut servare beatum.*”

RICHARDSON.

With a reference also to *Proverbs*, xiv. 34. “*Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people.*”

DUNSTER.

Ver. 363. ————— *lays cities flat;*] Alluding perhaps to the expression in Scripture respecting Jericho; “The wall of the city shall fall down *flat*,” *Joshua*, vi. 5, and 20.

DUNSTER.

Or to the *Mirror for Mag.* p. 267, edit. 1610.

“Thebes I saw all ras’d how it did lie

“In heapes of stones, and Tyus put to spoile,

“With walls and towers *flat* even’d with the soile.”

Ver. 366. ————— (*for all his darts were spent,*) Possibly with a reference to “*the fiery darts of the wicked*,” *Ephes.* vi. 16. But archery furnished metaphors frequently to the Latin and Greek writers. Thus Horace, reproving the unbounded aims and designs of men, *Od.* II. xvi.

“Quid brevi fortes *jaculamur* ævo

“*Multa?*”

And *Æschylus*, speaking of “the tongue that launches forth much improper language,” *Supplic.* v. 455.

————— γλῶσσαι τοῦτοιοῦτα μὴ τὰ καίρια.

And in the same manner *Euripides*, *Hecub.* 603.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὴ δὴ οὕς ΕΤΟΘΕΥΣΤΕΝ μάτην. DUNSTER.

Thus to our Saviour with stern brow replied.

Since neither wealth nor honour, arms nor arts,
 Kingdom nor empire pleases thee, nor aught
 By me propos'd in life contemplative 370
 Or active, tended on by glory or fame,
 What dost thou in this world? The wilderネス
 For thee is fittest place; I found thee there,
 And thither will return thee; yet remember
 What I foretel thee, soon thou shalt have cause
 To wish thou never hadst rejected, thus 376
 Nicely or cautiously, my offer'd aid,
 Which would have set thee in short time with ease
 On David's throne, or throne of all the world,
 Now at full age, fulness of time, thy season, 380
 When prophecies of thee are best fulfill'd.
 Now contrary, if I read aught in Heaven,

The allusion may be to Holy Writ, in which the words of *wicked men* are expressly termed *arrows*: "Who whet their tongue like a sword, and shoot out their *arrows*, even *bitter words*," Psalm lxiv. 3.

Ver. 377. *Nicely or cautiously,*] Thus ver. 157 of this Book,

"Nothing will please the difficult and *nice*." DUNSTER.

Ver. 380. ——— *fulness of time, thy season,*] Galat. iv. 4. "When the fulness of the time was come, God sent forth his Son." NEWTON.

Ver. 382. ——— *if I read aught in Heaven,*] A satire on Cardan, who with the boldness and impiety of an atheist and a madman, both of which he was, cast the nativity of Jesus Christ, and found by the great and illustrious concurrence of stars at his birth, that he must needs have the fortune which befel him, and become the author of a religion, which should

Or Heaven write aught of fate, by what the stars
 Voluminous, or single characters,
 In their conjunction met, give me to spell, 385
 Sorrows, and labours, opposition, hate
 Attend thee, scorns, reproaches, injuries,
 Violence and stripes, and lastly cruel death ;
 A kingdom they portend thee, but what kingdom,
 Real or allegorick, I discern not ; 390
 Nor when ; eternal sure, as without end,
 Without beginning ; for no date prefix'd

spread itself far and near for many ages. The great Milton, with a just indignation of this impiety, hath satirized it in a very beautiful manner, by putting these reveries into the mouth of the Devil. NEWTON.

Ver. 385. ————— give to me to spell,] So, in *H. Pens.* v. 170.

“ Where I may sit and rightly spell

“ Of every star &c.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 391. ————— as without end,

Without beginning ;] “ The poet,” says Dr. Newton, “ did not think it enough to discredit *judicial astrology* by making it patronised by the Devil ; to show at the same time the absurdity of it, he makes the Devil also blunder in the expression of portending *a kingdom which was without beginning*. This,” he adds, “ destroys all he would insinuate.” But the poet certainly never meant to make the Tempter a blunderer. The fact is, the language is here intended to be highly sarcastick on the eternity of Christ’s kingdom, respecting which the Tempter says he believes it will have one of the properties of eternity, *that of never beginning*. This is that *species of insulting wit*, which the Devils, in the sixth Book of the *Paradise Lost*, indulge themselves in on the first effects of the artillery they had invented ; where Mr. Thyer, as cited by Dr. Newton, observes that Milton is not to be blamed for introducing it, “ when we

Directs me in the starry rubrick set.

So saying he took, (for still he knew his power
Not yet expir'd,) and to the wilderneys 395
Brought back the Son of God, and left him there,
Feigning to disappear. Darknefs now rose,
As day-light funk, and brought in lowering
Night,

Her shadowy offspring; unsubstantial both,
Privation mere of light and absent day. 400
Our Saviour meek, and with untroubled mind

consider the character of the speakers, and that such kind of insulting wit is most peculiar to proud, contemptuous spirits."

DUNSTER.

Ver. 399. *Her shadowy offspring;*] *Night* was sometimes the parent, and *Darknefs* the *offspring*. See Cicero *De Nat. Deorum*, where we meet with *Tenebræ* among the progeny of *Night* and *Erebus*. But Milton's *Theogony* is conformable to Hyginus, who makes *Caligo*, or *Darknefs*, the mother of *Night*, *Day*, *Erebus*, and *Ether*. See the first chapter of Hyginus *De Fabulis*. DUNSTER.

Ibid. ————— *unsubstantial both,*] His philosophy is here ill placed. It dashes out the image he had just been painting. WARBURTON.

Euripides, in a chorus of his *Orestes*, personifying *Night*, calls upon her to arise from *Erebus*, or the shades below,

Πότνια, πότνια Νύξ,
'Ερεβόθεν ἴθι, ———

where, it may be observed, the scholiast rectifies the philosophy of the poet, by explaining night or darknefs as really "unsubstantial," and *merely produced by the absence of light, or day*.—
Κατερχομένη τὲ ἥλιος εἰς τὸ ὑπὸ γῆν ἡμισφαίριον, σκότος ἐπάνω τῆς γῆς γίνεται, ὥσπερ ἐκ τῶν κάτωθεν ἀνέβαιναι δοκεῖ, οὐκ ὡς ὃν ἐν τοῖς κάτω καὶ ἀνιρχόμενον, ἈΛΛΑ ΤΗ' ΑΠΟΥΣΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΦΩΤΟΣ ΤΟΥΤΟ ὙΦΙΣΤΑΤΑΙ. DUNSTER.

Disturb'd his sleep. And either tropick now

Ver. 409. ————— *And either tropick now*

'Gan thunder, and both ends of Heaven; the clouds,
From many a horrid rift, &c.] It thundered from

both tropicks, that is perhaps from the right and from the left. The ancients had very different opinions concerning the right and the left side of the world. Plutarch says, that Aristotle, Plato, and Pythagoras were of opinion, that the east is the right side, and the west the left; but that Empedocles held that the right side is towards the summer tropick, and the left towards the winter tropick. Πυθαγόρας, Πλάτων, Αριστοτέλης, δεξιά τὸ κόσμος τὰ ἀνατολικά μέρη, ἀφ' ὧν ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κινήσεως· ἀριστερά δὲ, τὰ δεξιά. Εμπεδοκλῆς δεξιά μὲν τὰ κατὰ τὸν θερινὸν τροπικὸν· ἀριστερά δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὸν χειμερινόν. *De Placit. Philos.* ii. 10. Αἰγύπτιοι οἴονται τὰ μὲν ἰσὺα τὸ κόσμον πρὸς ὤπαιον εἶναι, τὰ δὲ πρὸς βορρᾶν δεξιά, τὰ δὲ πρὸς νότον ἀριστερά. *Id. de Isid.* p. 363. If by *either tropick* he meant the *right side* and the *left*, by *both ends of Heaven* may be understood *before* and *behind*. I know it may be objected, that the tropicks cannot be the one the right side, and the other the left, *to those* who are placed without the tropicks; but I do not think that objection to be very material. I have another exposition to offer, which is thus: It thundered all along the Heaven, from the north pole to the tropick of Cancer, from thence to the tropick of Capricorn, from thence to the south pole: from pole to pole. The *ends of Heaven* are the poles. This is a poetical tempest, like that in Virgil, *Æn.* i. "Intonare poli,"—"Id est, *extremæ partes cæli—a quibus totum cælum cantonuisse significat.*" Servius. JORTIN.

By *either tropick now* 'gan thunder Dr. Newton understands, it thundered from the north and from the south; but he observes that the expression is inaccurate, the situation of our Saviour not being within the tropicks. By *and both ends of Heaven*, he understands *from* or *at both ends of Heaven*, the preposition being omitted, as is frequent in Milton. He therefore reads the passage thus:

—————"either tropick now

"'Gan thunder, and, both ends of Heaven, the clouds

"From many a horrid rift abortive pour'd &c."

'Gan thunder, and both ends of Heaven; the
clouds,

410

I agree that by *either tropick* Milton most probably meant that it thundered from the north and south; but I conceive that by *both ends of Heaven* he means east and west, the points where the sun rises and sets; as his purpose is to describe a general storm, not coming from any particular quarter, nor only from north and south, but from every point of the horizon at once.

This storm, as Dr. Newton has suggested, is very much like one in Tasso, which was raised in the same manner by evil spirits, *Gier. Lib. c. vii. st. 114, 115.* DUNSTER.

This passage of the poet is indeed conducted, like the proffered entertainment in the second Book, on the principles of romance: Thus also, in Hawes's *Pastime of Pleasure*, bl. l. 1554, where the knight discomfits the enchantment, he is attacked by a spirit

————— "whiche suche smoke did cast
"That all the yland was full tenebrous;
"It thundred loud with claps tempestuous, &c."

But, on victory declaring for the knight,

"The spirite vanished, the ayre waxed cleare,"

Compare verses 429, 430, of this Book.

Ver. 410. ————— *the clouds,*

From many a horrid rift, abortive pour'd

Fierce rain with lightning mix'd, &c.] This storm

of Milton will lose nothing by a comparison with the celebrated ones of Homer in his fifth *Odyssey*, and of Virgil in his first *Æneid*. It is painted from nature, and in the boldest style.—The night is a *lowering one*, with a heavy overcharged atmosphere. The storm commences with thunder from every part of the Heavens. The rain then pours down in sudden precipitated torrents, finely marked, by the epithet *abortive* as materially different from the gradual progression of the most violent common showers; and the lightnings seem to burst in a tremendous manner from *horrid rifts*, from the most internal recesses of the sky. To make the horror complete, the winds, as is often the case in those countries where thunder storms are most violent,

From many a horrid rift, abortive pour'd
Fierce rain with lightning mix'd, water with
fire

join their force to that of the other two elements. Violent winds do not often attend violent thunder storms in this country; and therefore Mr. Thyer has thought it necessary to observe that the accounts we have of hurricanes in the West Indies agree pretty much to this description. But such storms are not confined to tropical situations, or even to countries approaching towards them. I was a witness of one in the northern part of Germany, lat. 52, which was every thing the poet has here described: the wind was to the full as tremendous as the thunder and lightning, and, like them, seemed to come from every point of the heavens at once. DUNSTER.

Ver. 411. *From many a horrid rift, abortive pour'd*

Fierce rain with lightning mix'd,] So, as Mr.

Dunster notes,

“ Involvère diem nimbi, et nox humida cælum

“ Abstulit: ingeminant abruptis nubibus ignes.”

Virg. *Æn.* iii. 196.

But Lucretius is here the original; see lib. ii. 213—215.

Ver. 412. ————— *water with fire*

In ruin reconcil'd:] Dr. Warburton understands

this, *joined together to do hurt*. Mr. Thyer says it is a bold figure borrowed from Æschylus's description of the storm that scattered the Grecian fleet, *Agamem.* v. 559.

Ευνώμισαν γὰρ, ὅντις ἔχθιστοι το πρὶν,

Πῦρ καὶ θάλασσα, κ. τ. λ.

But I apprehend Dr. Newton sees the passage in its true light, when he says it only means *the fire and water fill*, (i. e. *ruin'd down*), *together*, according to Milton's usage of the word *run*, *Paradise Lost*, B. i. 46, and *running*, B. vi. 868.

Thus also, ver. 436. of this Book;

“ After a night of storm so ruinous.”

Ru and *ruina* are used by the Roman poets in this sense.

DUNSTER.

In ruin reconcil'd : nor slept the winds
 Within their stony caves, but rush'd abroad
 From the four hinges of the world, and fell
 On the vex'd wilderness, whose tallest pines
 Though rooted deep as high, and sturdiest oaks,

Ver. 413. ————— *nor slept the winds*

Within their stony caves,] Virgil describes the winds as placed by Jupiter in certain deep dark caves of the earth, under the controul of their god, Æolus, *Æn.* i. 521.

—————“ *Hic vasto rex Æolus antro*

“ *Luctantes ventos tempestatesque sonoras*

“ *Imperio premit, &c.*”

Lucan also speaks of the “ stony prison” of the winds, lib. v. 608.

—————“ *non imbris atrum*

“ *Æoli jacuisse Notum sub carcere saxi*

“ *Crediderim.*”

And Lucretius, L. vi.

“ *Speluncæque velut saxi pendentibus structas*

“ *Cernere, quas venti &c.*” DUNSTER.

Ver. 414. ————— *but rush'd abroad*

From the four hinges of the world,] That is, from the four cardinal points; *cardo* signifying both a *hinge* and a *cardinal point*, Virgil, *Æn.* i. 85.

“ *Una Eurûsque Notûsque ruunt, crebërque procellis*

“ *Africus.*” NEWTON.

Ver. 416. *On the vex'd wilderness,*] Mr. Dunster observes that Milton frequently uses *vex* in its Latin sense, as describing the effects of a storm; *Par. Lost*, B. i. 306, and B. iii. 429. *Vex'd*, I apprehend, might not be uncommon, in this sense, in Milton's time. Thus, in Shakspeare's *Tempest*, A. i. S. ii. “ The still-*vex'd* Bermoothes.” Again, *K. Lear*, A. iv. S. iv. “ As mad as the *vex'd* sea.”

Ver. 417. *Though rooted deep as high,* Virgil, *Æn.* iv. 445.

Bow'd their stiff necks, loaden with stormy blasts,
 Or torn up sheer. Ill wast thou shrouded then,
 O patient Son of God, yet only stood'st 420
 Unshaken! Nor yet staid the terrour there;
 Infernal ghosts and hellish furies round
 Environ'd thee, some howl'd, some yell'd, some
 shriek'd,

—————"Quantum vertice ad auras
 "Æthereas, tantum radice ad Tartara tendit."

RICHARDSON.

Ver. 418. ————— loaden with stormy blasts,] This has some resemblance to Horace's "aquilonibus querceta Gargani laborant," Od. II. ix. DUNSTER.

Ver. 419. ————— Ill wast thou shrouded then,] See Mr. Warton's note on *Comus*, v. 147.

Ver. 420. ————— yet only stood'st
Unshaken:] Milton seems to have raised this scene out of what he found in Eusebius *de Dem. Evang.* (Lib. ix. vol. ii. p. 434. Ed. Col.) The learned father observes, that Christ was tempted forty days, and the same number of nights. Καὶ ἐπειδὴ περ ἡμέραις τεσσαράκοντα, καὶ ταῖς τοσαύταις νύξιν ἐπειράζετο. And to these night-temptations he applies what is said in the *Psalms* xci. 5. and 6. Οὐ φοβήσῃ ἀπὸ φόβου νυκτερινῆς, Thou shalt not be afraid for any terror by night,—ἀπὸ πειράματός ἐν σκότει διαπορευομένου, nor for the danger that walketh in darkness. The first is thus paraphrased in the Targum, (though with a meaning very different from Eusebius's) "Non timebis à timore Dæmonum qui ambulant in nocte." The fiends surround our Redeemer with their threats and terrors; but they have no effect.

CALTON.

Ver. 422. *Infernal ghosts and hellish furies round
 Environ'd thee, some howl'd, some yell'd, &c.*] This too is from Eusebius, *ibid.* p. 435. Ἐπειὶ ὅτε ἐν τῷ πειραζομένῳ δυνάμεις πονηρὰὶ ἐκυκλῶν αὐτόν.—"quoniam dum tentabatur, malignæ potestates illum circumstabant." And their repulse, it

Some bent at thee their fiery darts, while thou
Sat'st unappall'd in calm and sinless peace ! 425

seems, is also predicted in the 7th verse of the xcist psalm : *A thousand shall fall beside thee, and ten thousand at thy right hand, but it shall not come nigh thee.* CALTON.

Dr. Warburton and Dr. Jortin both observe that this description is taken from the legend, or the pictures, of the *Temptation of St. Anthony*.

Taffo has a description somewhat similar, where Armida, having lost Rinaldo, and returning to destroy her palace, assembles her attendant spirits in a storm, c. xvi. st. 67.

“ Quinta a gli alberghi suoi chiamò trecento
“ Con lingua horrenda deità d' Averno.
“ S'empie il ciel d' atre nubi, e in un momento
“ Impallidisce il gran pianeta eterno,
“ E soffia, e scote i gioghi alpestri il vento.
“ Ecco già sotto i piè mugghiar l' inferno.
“ Quanto gira il palagio, udresti irati
“ Sibili, e urlì, e fremiti, e latrati.”

We may also compare a passage in Shakspeare, which concludes Clarence's relation of his horrid dream in the Tower just before he is murdered, *Rich.* III. A. i. S. v.

“ With that, methought, a legion of foul fiends
“ Environ'd me, and howled in mine ears
“ Such hideous cries, that with the very noise
“ I trembling wak'd ; and for a season after
“ Could not believe but that I was in Hell.”

DUNSTER.

I think a passage from Fairfax's *Taffo* was also in the poet's memory, B. ix. st. 15.

“ Their mantle darke the grisly shadowes spred—
“ The moone and stars for feare of sprites were fled ;
“ The shrieking goblins each where howling flew :
“ The furies roare, the ghosts and fairies yell,
“ The earth was fill'd with devils, and emptie hell,”

Thus passed the night so foul, till Morning fair
Came forth, with pilgrim steps, in amice gray ;

Ver. 426. ————— till Morning fair

Came forth with pilgrim steps in amice gray ;] See the notes on *Lycidas*, v. 187, and *Par. Lost*, B. vii. 374. The *morrow gray*, as Mr. Dunster observes, was a common expression with our early poets for the break of day ; and he cites the following lines from Sackville's beautiful *Induction*, ft. 40.

“ The *morrowe gray* no sooner hath begun
“ To spread his light euen peeping in our eyes,
“ Than he is vp and to his work yrun.”

I will add a passage, which seems to prove the point exactly, from Hawes's *Pastime of Pleasure*, 1554. chap. i.

—————“ the night was well nere past,
“ And fayre golden Phebus, in the *morow graye*,
“ With clowdes redde, began to *breake the daye*.”

Ver. 427. ————— amice gray ;] *Amice gray* is gray clothing. Amice, a significant word, is derived from the Latin *amicio*, to clothe ; and is used by Spenser, *Faery Queen*, i. iv. 18.

“ Array'd in habit black, and *amice* thin,
“ Like to an holy monk the service to begin.”

NEWTON.

Amice gray, Mr. Warton says, is the *graius amictus* of the Roman Ritual. Milton, he also observes, in a controversy about church-habits, uses the word *amice*. “ We have heard of Aaron, and his linen *amice* &c.” *Prose-W.* i. 100.

Aurora, in Homer, has a saffron robe, or amice ; and is termed Ἠὼς Κροκοπέπλος, *Il.* viii. 1. In *Hamlet*, A. i. S. i.

—————“ the Morn, in *ruffet mantle* clad,
“ *Walks o'er* the dew of yon high eastern hill.”

And, in Browne's *Britannia's Pastorals*, B. ii. S. iv.

“ It chanc'd, one Morn, *clad in a robe of gray*
“ And *blushing oft* as rising to betray,
“ Entic'd this lovely maiden from her bed, &c.”

Who with her radiant finger still'd the roar
Of thunder, chas'd the clouds, and laid the
winds,

429

And in the *Penferſo*, ver. 122, morn at its first appearance is *civil-furled*, i. e. dressed like a sober citizen in gray, or at least in some colour not of a glaring kind. DUNSTER.

The *amice gray* may be further explained. For in a curious old bl. l. book, entitled "Order of my Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, and the Sheriffs, for their meeting, and wearing their apparel throughout the whole year," is the following discriminative injunction: "The Lord Mayor, and those Knights that have borne the office of Majoralty, ought to have their cloaks furred with *gray amis*; and those Aldermen that have not been Mayors are to have their cloaks furred with calabre."

Ver. 428. *Who with her radiant finger still'd the roar
Of thunder, chas'd the clouds, and laid the winds,*
&c.] This is an imitation of a passage in the first *Æneid* of Virgil, where Neptune is represented with his trident laying the storm which Æolus had raised, ver. 142.

"Sic ait, et dicto citius tumida æquora placat,
"Colle&usque fugat nubes, solémque reducit."

There is the greater beauty in the English poet, as the scene he is describing under this charming figure is perfectly consistent with the course of nature; nothing being more common than to see a stormy night succeeded by a pleasant, serene morning.

THYER.

That Milton had here in his mind the $\rho\omicron\delta\omicron\Delta\alpha\kappa\tau\tau\alpha\omicron\varsigma$ ἠώς, the *rosy-finger'd Aurora*, of Homer and Hesiod, must be supposed; but while *rosy-fingred* is the proper epithet of the dawn, which immediately precedes the rising of the sun, the early morning, when the sun is absolutely risen, is justly described with *radiant*, instead of *rosy*, fingers. In availing himself of the heathen poet's mode of characterising the dawn, I conceive, our author had an eye to the *finger of God*. Exodus, viii. 19. Luke xi. 20. It is observable that to *still the roar of the storm* is also a scriptural

And grisly spectres, which the Fiend had rais'd
 To tempt the Son of God with terrors dire.
 And now the sun with more effectual beams
 Had cheer'd the face of earth, and dried the wet

phrase. Psalm lxxv. 7.—lxxxix. 9. It is needless to suggest to the reader of taste how much more the beauty and imagery of this passage strikes us, when we consider it with a view to these scriptural allusions. *Aurora*, or the dawn, *rising with rosy fingers*, with a tint of red in the extreme parts of her person that first emerge, is a *pleasing* image; but *Morning with her radiant finger stilling the storm of the preceding night* is a truly sublime one. DUNSTER.

Ver. 430. *And grisly spectres, which the Fiend had rais'd*] This is the old superstition of evil spirits disappearing at break of day; which Milton is censured by Dr. Warburton for introducing in this place. He has also alluded to it in his *Ode on the Nativity*, ft. xxvi. DUNSTER.

See Mr. Warton's and Mr. Bowle's Notes on the *Ode*, ver. 229, and ver. 232. And here it may be observed, that an eminent and excellent divine is of the same opinion as the poet with respect to *the evil Spirits which the Fiend raised*, when he tempted our Lord: "This, as we may probably suppose, was the Devil's way of tempting or trying our Lord, during the forty days and nights of his fast; and many opportunities, no doubt, he had in so long a time, by *frightful dreams when he slept, frequent apparitions and illusions of evil Spirits in the night* &c." Bragge on the Miracles, vol. ii. p. 12.

Ver. 432. *And now the sun with more effectual beams
 Had cheer'd the face of earth, and dried the wet
 From drooping plant, or dropping tree; the birds,
 Who all things now behold more fresh and green,
 After a night of storms so ruinous,
 Clear'd up their choicest notes in bush and spray,
 To gratulate the sweet return of morn.*] There is
 in this description all the bloom of Milton's youthful fancy.

From drooping plant, or dropping tree; the birds,
 Who all things now behold more fresh and green,
 After a night of storm so ruinous, 436
 Clear'd up their choicest notes in bush and spray,
 To gratulate the sweet return of morn.
 Nor yet, amidst this joy and brightest morn,
 Was absent, after all his mischief done, 440
 The Prince of darkness; glad would also seem
 Of this fair change, and to our Saviour came;
 Yet with no new device, (they all were spent,)
 Rather by this his last affront resolv'd,
 Desperate of better course, to vent his rage 445
 And mad despite to be so oft repell'd.
 Him walking on a sunny hill he found,

We may compare an evening scene of the same kind, *Paradise Lost*, B. ii. 488—495. THYER.

Mr. Dunster here refers the reader to part of a beautiful sonnet of Spenser, where the poet is comparing the smiles of his mistress, breaking out after some cloudy looks, (*Sonnet xl.*)

" Unto the fair sunshine in summer's day,
 " That, when a dreadful storm away is flit,
 " Through the broad world doth spread his goodly ray;
 " At sight whereof, each bird that sits on spray,
 " And every beast that to his den was fled,
 " Come forth afresh out of their late dismay,
 " And to the light lift up their drooping head."

He notices also Tasso's description of a sea-storm instantly changed into a perfect calm, by means of the magical bark in which the two knights sail in search of Rinaldo, *Gier. Lib. c. xv. st. 9.* But this delightful passage of Milton perhaps deserves a parallel. So picturesque a scene bespeaks the finished hand of an inimitable master.

Back'd on the north and west by a thick wood ;
 Out of the wood he starts in wonted shape,
 And in a careless mood thus to him said. 450

Fair morning yet betides thee, Son of God,
 After a dismal night : I heard the wrack,
 As earth and sky would mingle ; but myself
 Was distant ; and these flaws, though mortals
 fear them
 As dangerous to the pillar'd frame of Heaven, 455

Ver. 449. ————— in wonted shape,] That is, in his own proper shape, and not under any disguise, as at each of the former times when he appeared to our blessed Lord. He comes now hopeless of success, without device or disguise, and, as the poet expressly says,

“ Desperate of better course, to vent his rage
 “ And mad despite to be so oft repell'd.” DUNSTER.

Compare *Par. Lost*, B. iv. 819.

“ So started up in his own shape the Fiend.”

Ver. 453. *As earth and sky would mingle ;*] Virgil, *Æn.* i. 137.

“ Jam cælum terramque meo sine numine, venti,
 “ Misere, et tantas audetis tollere moles ?”

RICHARDSON.

Ver. 454. ————— these flaws,] *Flaw* is a sea term, as Mr. Dunster observes, for a sudden storm, or gust of wind. See the note on *Par. Lost*, B. x. 697.

Ver. 455. *As dangerous to the pillar'd frame of Heaven,*] So also, *Comus*, v. 597 ;

—————“ if this fail,
 “ The pillar'd firmament is rottenness.”

In both, no doubt, alluding to *Job*, xxvi. 11. “ The pillars of Heaven tremble, and are astonish'd at his reproof.” THYER.

Or to the earth's dark basis underneath,
 Are to the main as inconsiderable
 And harmless, if not wholesome, as a sneeze
 To man's less universe, and soon are gone ; 459
 Yet, as being oft times noxious where they light
 On man, beast, plant, wasteful and turbulent,
 Like turbulencies in the affairs of men,
 Over whose heads they roar, and seem to point,
 They oft fore-signify and threaten ill :
 This tempest at this desert most was bent ; 465
 Of men at thee, for only thou here dwell'st.
 Did I not tell thee, if thou didst reject
 The perfect season offer'd with my aid
 To win thy destin'd seat, but wilt prolong
 All to the push of fate, pursue thy way 470
 Of gaining David's throne, no man knows when,
 For both the when and how is no where told ?
 Thou shalt be what thou art ordain'd, no doubt ;
 For Angels have proclaim'd it, but concealing 474
 The time and means. Each act is rightlicst done,

Ver. 467. *Did I not tell thee, if thou didst reject*

The perfect season offer'd with my aid &c.] Here
 is something to be understood after *Did I not tell thee ?* The
thing told we may suppose to be what Satan had before said,
 B. iii. 351.

—————“ Thy kingdom, though foretold

“ By Prophet, or by Angel, unless thou

“ Endeavour, as thy father David did,

“ Thou never shalt obtain ; prediction still,

“ In all things, and all men, supposes means ;

“ Without means us'd, what it predicts revokes.”

DUNSTER.

Not when it muſt, but when it may be beſt :
If thou obſerve not this, be ſure to find,
What I foretold thee, many a hard aſſay
Of dangers, and adverſities, and pains,
Ere thou of Iſrael's ſcepter get faſt hold ; 480
Whereof this ominous night, that clos'd thee
round,

So many terrours, voices, prodigies,
May warn thee, as a fure fore-going sign.

So talk'd he, while the Son of God went on
And staid not, but in brief him answer'd thus. 485

Me worfe than wet thou find'ft not ; other harm
Thofe terrours, which thou fpeak'ft of, did me
none ;

I never fear'd they could, though noising loud
And threatening nigh: what they can do, as signs
Betokening, or ill boding, I contemn 490
As false portents, not sent from God, but thee;
Who, knowing I shall reign past thy preventing,
Obtrud'st thy offer'd aid, that I, accepting,
At least might seem to hold all power of thee,
Ambitious Spirit! and wouldst be thought my
God; 495

And storm'd refus'd, thinking to terrify
Me to thy will ! desist, (thou art discern'd,
And toil'd in vain,) nor me in vain molest.

Ver. 478. *What I foretold thee, &c.*] See ver. 374, and ver. 381 to v. 389 of this Book. DUNSTER.

Ver. 481. ——— *this ominous night,*] *This portentous,*
this dangerous, night. See Mr. Warton's note on *Comus*, v. 61.

To whom the Fiend, now swoln with rage,
replied.

Then hear, O Son of David, Virgin-born, 500
For Son of God to me is yet in doubt ;
Of the Messiah I had heard foretold

Ver. 500. *Then hear, O Son of David, Virgin-born,
For Son of God to me is yet in doubt ;*] That Satan should seriously address our Lord as "Virgin-born," *because* he entertained doubts whether he was in any respect the Son of God, is palpably inconsequent. "To be born of a virgin," Mr. Calton observes from Bp. Pearson, in a subsequent note, "is not so far above the production of all mankind as to place our Lord in that singular eminence, which must be attributed to *the only-begotten Son of God.*" But it must be recollected, that the subject of this poem is a trial *ad probandum* whether the person declared to be Son of God was really the Messiah: to acknowledge therefore that he was beyond all dispute born of a virgin, and had thereby fulfilled so material a prophecy respecting the Messiah, would be to admit in some degree the point in question. And however "Virgin-born" might not be supposed to ascertain in any degree the claim to the Messiahship, still it could never be used in an address to our Lord meant to lower him to "mere man." "Son of David," single and by itself, was an expression that Satan might be expected to use, when, characterising our Lord as a mere human being, he professed to disbelieve that he was the Son of God, born in a miraculous manner of a pure virgin, as it was foretold the Messiah should be. "Virgin-born" then must be considered as intended to be highly sarcastick. It is an epithet of the most pointed derision; resembling the HAIL KING OF THE JEWS, *and they smote him with their hands.* It is that species of blasphemous insult, which might be expected from the Arch-Fiend, who at the opening of the speech is described "swoln with rage." DUNSTER.

Ver. 502. *Of the Messiah I had heard foretold*] All the editions read "*have heard,*" *Had* seems absolutely requisite.

DUNSTER,

By all the Prophets ; of thy birth at length,
 Announc'd by Gabriel, with the first I knew,
 And of the angelick song in Bethlehem field, 505
 On thy birth-night that sung thee Saviour born.
 From that time feldom have I ceas'd to eye
 Thy infancy, thy childhood, and thy youth,
 Thy manhood last, though yet in private bred ;
 Till at the ford of Jordan, whither all 510
 Flock to the Baptist, I, among the rest,
 (Though not to be baptiz'd,) by voice from
 Heaven

Heard thee pronounc'd the Son of God belov'd.
 Thenceforth I thought thee worth my nearer view
 And narrower scrutiny, that I might learn 515
 In what degree or meaning thou art call'd
 The Son of God ; which bears no single sense.
 The Son of God I also am, or was ;
 And if I was, I am ; relation stands ;
 All men are Sons of God ; yet thee I thought 520
 In some respect far higher so declar'd :
 Therefore I watch'd thy footsteps from that hour,
 And follow'd thee still on to this waste wild ;
 Where, by all best conjectures, I collect
 Thou art to be my fatal enemy : 525
 Good reason then, if I before-hand seek
 To understand my adversary, who
 And what he is ; his wisdom, power, intent ;
 By parl or composition, truce or league,
 To win him, or win from him what I can : 530

And opportunity I here have had
 To try thee, sift thee, and confests have found thee
 Proof against all temptation, as a rock
 Of adamant, and, as a center, firm ; 534
 To the utmost of mere Man both wise and good,
 Not more ; for honours, riches, kingdoms, glory,
 Have been before contemn'd, and may again.
 Therefore, to know what more thou art than Man,
 Worth naming Son of God by voice from Heaven,
 Another method I must now begin. 540

So saying he caught him up, and, without wing
 Of hippogrif, bore through the air sublime,

Ver. 533. *Proof against all temptation, as a rock*
Of adamant,] Compare Spenser, *Faer. Qu.* i. vi. 4.

“ But words, and looks, and sighs, she did abhor,

“ *As rock of diamond steadfast evermore.*”

Rocks of adamant is a phrase in Sandys's *Job*, p. 29. ed. 1648,
 and in Shirley's *Imposture*, p. 67. ed. 1652.

Ver. 538. ———— *what more thou art than Man,*

Worth naming Son of God by voice from Heaven,]

See Bp. Pearson on the Creed, p. 106. “ We must find yet a more peculiar ground of our Saviour's filiation, totally distinct from any which belongs unto the rest of the sons of God, that he may be clearly and fully acknowledged the *only-begotten Son*. For although to be born of a virgin be in itself miraculous, yet is it not so far above the production of all mankind, as to place him in that singular eminence, which must be attributed to the *only-begotten*. We read of *Adam the Son of God* as well as *Seth the Son of Adam*: (Luke, iii. 38.) and surely the framing Christ out of a woman cannot so far transcend the making Adam out of the earth, as to cause so great a distance, as we must believe, between the first and second Adam.” CALTON.

Ver. 541. ———— *without wing*

Of hippogrif,] Here Milton designed a reflection

Over the wilderneys and o'er the plain,
 Till underneath them fair Jerufalem,
 The holy city, lifted high her towers, 545
 And higher yet the glorious temple rear'd

upon the Italian poets, and particularly upon Ariosto. An *hippogrif* is an imaginary creature, part like an horse, and part like a gryphon. See *Orlando Furioso*, c. iv. Ariosto frequently makes use of this creature to convey his heroes from place to place.

NEWTON.

Ver. 545. *The holy city,*] Jerufalem is frequently so called in the Old Testament. It is also called the *holy city* by St. Matthew, who wrote his gospel for the use of the Jewish converts; but by him only, of the four Evangelists. "Then the Devil taketh him up into *the holy city*, and setteth him on a pinnacle of the temple, &c." *Mat.* iv. 5, and xxvii. 53.

Dr. Townson having observed, that "St. Matthew alone, of all the Evangelists, ascribes those titles of sanctity to Jerufalem, by which it had been distinguished by the prophets and sacred historians, and was known among the neighbouring nations," thus accounts for this difference between him and the other Evangelists, on the supposition that St. Matthew was, as he has generally been supposed to be, the earliest writer of the four. "After some years the word of God, being received by multitudes in various part of the world, did as it were sanctify other cities; while Jerufalem, by rancorous opposition to the truth, and sanguinary persecution of it, more and more declined in the esteem of the believers. They acknowledged the title and character which she claimed by ancient prescription, when St. Matthew wrote; but between the publication of his gospel and the next, they were taught to transfer the idea of the holy city to a worthier object." Townson's *Discourses*, Disc. iv. S. 3. DUNSTER.

Ibid. ——— *lifted high her towers,*] Sandys, describing *Jerusalem*, gives a minute account of the remarkable height of her various towers; some of which, he adds, were topped with spires. See his *Travels*, edit. 1615, pp. 156, 157.

Her pile, far off appearing like a mount
 Of alabaster, topt with golden spires :
 There, on the highest pinnacle, he set
 The Son of God ; and added thus in scorn. 550

Ver. 547. ——— *far off appearing like a mount*
Of alabaster,] So, in *Par. Lost*, B. iv. 543.

————— “ it was a rock
 “ *Of alabaster*, pil'd up to the clouds
 “ *Conspicuous far.*” DUNSTER.

Ver. 549. *There, on the highest pinnacle, he set*

The Son of God;] He has chosen to follow the order observed by St. Luke, in placing this Temptation last, because if he had, with St. Matthew, introduced it in the middle, it would have broke that fine thread of moral reasoning, which is observed in the course of the other Temptations. THYER.

In the Gospel account of the Temptation, no discovery is made of the Incarnation ; and this grand mystery is as little known to the Tempter at the end, as at the beginning. But now, according to Milton's scheme, the poem was to be closed with a full discovery of it. There are *three* circumstances therefore, in which the poet, to serve his plan, hath varied from the accounts in the gospels.

1. The criticks have not been able to ascertain what the *ἀλεξυρίον* or *pinnacle* (as we translate it) was, on which Christ was set by the Demon : but whatever it was, the Evangelists make no difficulty of his standing there. This the poet (following the common use of the word *pinnacle* in our own language) supposeth to be something like those on the battlements of our churches, a pointed spire, on which Christ could not stand without a miracle.

2. In the poem, the Tempter bids Christ give proof of his pretensions by standing on the pinnacle, or by casting himself down. In the Gospels, the last only is or could be suggested.

3. In the Gospel account the prohibition *Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God* is alleged only as a reason why Christ (whose divinity is concealed there) must not throw himself down from the top of the temple, because this would have been *tempting God*.

There stand, if thou wilt stand; to stand upright
Will ask thee skill; I to thy Father's house
Have brought thee, and highest plac'd: highest
is best:

Now show thy progeny; if not to stand,
Cast thyself down; safely, if Son of God: 555
For it is written, "He will give command

But in the poem it is applied to the Demon, and his attempt upon Christ; who is thereby declared to be the *Lord his God*.

CALTON.

Bp. Pearce supposes what is in the gospel called *ἀντήγιος*, and commonly translated *pinnacle*, to have been rather a *wing of the temple*, a flat part of the roof of one of its courts; probably on that side where the Royal Portico was, and where the valley on the outside was the deepest. Josephus, (*Antiquit.* xv. 11. 5.) says, "whereas the valley was so deep that a man could scarcely see the bottom of it, Herod built a Portico of so vast a height, that if a man looked from the roof of it, his head would grow giddy, and his sight not be able to reach from that height to the bottom of the valley." Eusebius, (*Hist. Ecclesiast.* ii. 23.) cites the account given by Hegesippus of the death of James the Apostle, in which it is said that the Scribes and Pharisees brought him ἐν τῷ ΠΥΡΡΥΙΩΝ τῷ ἁγῷ, up to *this elevated point* of the temple, and cast him down from thence. DUNSTER.

Ver. 554. *Now show thy progeny*;] The immediate term *progeny* is probably from Virgil's *Prole*;

"Jam nova progenies cœlo demittitur alto."

or from a subsequent verse,

"Chara Dei soboles, magnum Jovis incrementum."

The general tenour of the thought is from St. Mat. xxvii. 39, 40. "And they that passed by him reviled him wagging their heads, and saying, Thou that destroyest the temple and buildest it in three days, save thyself. *If thou be the Son of God, come down from the cross.*" DUNSTER.

“ Concerning thee to his Angels, in their hands
 “ They shall up lift thee, left at any time
 “ Thou chance to dash thy foot against a stone.”
 To whom thus Jesus : Also it is written, 560
 “ Tempt not the Lord thy God,” He said, and
 stood :

Ver. 561. “ *Tempt not the Lord thy God.*” He said, and stood :]
 Here is what we may call after Aristotle the ἀναστροφή, or the
 discovery. Christ declares himself to be the God and Lord of
 the Tempter ; and to prove it, stands upon the pinnacle. This
 was evidently the poet’s meaning. 1. The miracle shows it to
 be so ; which is otherwise impertinently introduced, and against
 the rule,

“ Nec Deus interfit, nisi dignus vindice nodus
 “ Inciderit.”

It proves nothing but what the Tempter knew, and allowed
 before.

2. There is a connection between Christ’s *saying* and *standing*,
 which demonstrates that he *stood*, in proof of something he had
said. Now the prohibition, *Tempt not the Lord thy God*, as
 alleged in the gospels from the Old Testament, was in no want
 of such an attestation : but a miracle was wanting to justify the
 application of it to the Tempter’s attack upon Christ ; it was for
 this end therefore that he stood. CALTON.

I cannot entirely approve this learned gentleman’s exposition.
 I am for understanding the words, *Also it is written, Tempt not
 the Lord thy God*, in the same sense in which they were spoken
 in the Gospels ; because I would not make the poem to differ
 from the Gospel account, farther than necessity compels, or more
 than the poet himself has made it. The Tempter sets our Saviour
 on a pinnacle of the temple, and there requires of him a proof
 of his divinity, either by standing, or by casting himself down,
 as he might safely do, if he was the Son of God, according to
 the quotation from the Psalmist. To this our Saviour answers,
 as he answers in the Gospels, *It is written again, Thou shalt not*

But Satan, smitten with amazement fell.
As when Earth's son Antæus, (to compare
Small things with greatest,) in Irafra strove

tempt the Lord thy God, tacitly inferring that his casting himself down would be tempting of God. *He said*, that is, he gave this reason for not casting himself down, *and stood*. His *standing* properly makes the discovery, and is the principal proof of his progeny that the Tempter required: *Now show thy progeny*. His *standing* convinces Satan. His *standing* is considered as the display of his divinity, and the immediate cause of Satan's *fall*; and the grand contrast is formed between the *standing* of the one, and the *fall* of the other

————— “ He said, and stood :

“ But Satan, smitten with amazement, fell.”

and afterwards, ver. 571 :

“ Fell whence he stood to see his victor fall.”

NEWTON.

The expression “ *He said, and stood :*” is in the manner of Homer, *Il.* vii. 354.

Ἦτοι δ' ἄρ' ὡς ἐπών, κατ' ἄρ' ἔειπε. DUNSTER.

Ver. 563. ——— *Earth's son Antæus*,] This simile in the person of the poet is amazingly fine. WARBURTON.

Ibid. ——— (to compare

Small things with greatest,)] This is the third time Milton has imitated Virgil's “ sic parvis componere magna solebam.” *Ecl.* i. 24. See *Paradise Lost*, B. ii. 921, B. x. 306. Some such mode of qualifying common similes is necessary to a poet writing on divine subjects. DUNSTER.

Ver. 564. ——— in *Irafra*] *Antæus* dwelt at the city *Irafra*, according to Pindar. But it was not there that he wrestled with *Hercules*, but at *Lixos*, according to Pliny; “ Lixos vel fabulosissime antiquis narrata. Ibi regia Antæi, certamenque cum Hercule.” *Nat. Hist. Lib.* v. Cap. 1.

MEADOWCOURT.

With Jove's Alcides, and, oft foil'd, still rose, 565
 Receiving from his mother Earth new strength,
 Fresh from his fall, and fiercer grapple join'd,

Ver. 565. *With Jove's Alcides,*] There were so many Hercules in the Grecian mythology and history, that it was necessary to specify when the principal Hercules, the son of Jupiter and Alcmena, was meant. Thus Cicero, *De Nat. Deor.* L. iii. 16. "Quamquam quem potissimum Herculem colamus, scire sane velim; plures enim nobis tradunt ii, qui interiores scrutantur et reconditas literas; antiquissimum *Jove natum.*" Varro says there were forty-three Hercules. It may be observed that, though *Hercules* the son of Jupiter is introduced with propriety, the son of Jupiter by Alcmena had no right to be called *Alcides*, this being the proper name of the son of Amphitryon, whose father was *Alcæus*. And yet Virgil also refers to *Alcides* as the *Son of Jove*, *Æn.* vi. 123.

—————"Quid Thesea, magnum
 "Quid memorem Alcidem? et mi genus ab Jove summo."

The name *Alcides*, it should however be noticed, has sometimes been considered as derived from ἀλξν *robur*; in which sense it was also applied to Minerva, *Liv.* L. xlii. C. 51. DUNSTER.

Ibid. ————— *and, oft foil'd, still rose,*] Thus in Tasso, where the Soldan Solyman is slain by Rinaldo, the resistance he had before made is compared to that of Antæus, in his contest with Hercules, *Gier. Lib.* c. xx. st. 108.

"Poi che 'l Soldan, che spesso in lunga guerra,
 "Quasi novello Anteo, cadde e risorse
 "Piu fero ogn' hora, al fin calco la terra
 "Per giacer sempre." DUNSTER.

Ver. 566. *Receiving from his mother Earth new strength,*] So, in Lucan, iv. 598.

"Hoc quoque tam vastas cumulavit munere vires
 "Terra sui sætus, quod, cum tetigere parentem,
 "Jam defuncta vigent renovato robore membra."

DUNSTER.

Throttled at length in the air, expir'd and fell;
 So, after many a foil, the Tempter proud,
 Renewing fresh assaults, amidst his pride, 570
 Fell whence he stood to see his victor fall:
 And as that Theban monster, that propos'd

Ver. 572. *And as that Theban monster, &c.*] The Sphinx, who, on her riddle being solved by Œdipus, threw herself into the sea. Statius, *Theb.* i. 66.

————— “ Si Sphingos iniquæ

“ Callidus ambages, te præmonstrante, resolvî.”

NEWTON.

The same poet refers also to the *falling of the Sphinx from the Ismenian steep*, when her riddle was solved by Œdipus, *Theb.* xi. 490.

————— “ dum Cadmus arat ? dum *viçta* cadit Sphynx ? ”

The Sphinx is termed by Euripides, (*Phæniß.* v. 813.) *ἑρμιον τίρας*, the “ monster of the mountain ! ” And by Lycophron, *Σφινκίον τίρας*, (ver. 1465.) where Heyne suggests the reading *Φικίον τίρας*, the monster of the mountain *Phicius*.

Milton seems here to have had Apollodorus's account of the Sphinx in his mind ; at least there is a great coincidence of expression in the mythologist and the poet. Apollodorus says the Sphinx *proposed her riddle* to the Thebans, *ΠΡΟΤΥΤΕΙΝΕ τοῖς Θήβαις*, and that, every time they *failed of finding it out*, she seized one of them, *and devoured him*, *ἐπ' ᾧ δὲ ΜΗ ΕΥΤΡΙΣΚΟΝ, ἀρπάσας ἵνα ΚΑΤΑΒΙΒΩΣΚΕ*, that Œdipus, upon hearing it, solved it, *Οἰδῖπός δὲ ἀκούσας ΕΛΥΣΕΝ*, whereupon *she cast herself headlong* from the Cadmea, or citadel of Thebes, *ΕΛΥΤΟΝ ΕΠΙΨΥΕΝ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκρόπολεως* ; which last words the learned Heyne thinks are an interpolation, *a malâ manu insertum*, as the mountain *Phicius* towards Onchestos, (Pausan. ix. 26.) was allowedly the haunt of the Sphinx. At the same time he observes that she was supposed at times to approach the walls of the Cadmea in search of prey. (Euripid. *Phæniß.* 815, 816.) As *Phicius* was a mountain in the Theban territory, either that, or the Cadmea, might be

Her riddle, and him who solv'd it not devour'd,
 That once found out and solv'd, for grief and spite
 Cast herself headlong from the Ismenian steep; 575
 So, struck with dread and anguish, fell the Fiend,
 And to his crew, that sat consulting, brought
 (Joyless triumphals of his hop'd success,)
 Ruin, and desperation, and dismay,
 Who durst so proudly tempt the Son of God. 580
 So Satan fell; and straight a fiery globe
 Of Angels on full sail of wing flew nigh,

termed the *Ismenian steep*, from the river Ismenus, which ran by Thebes; ὁ γὰρ Ἀσωπὸς, καὶ ὁ ἸΣΜΗΝΟΣ διὰ τῆ πεδίου πίεσι τῇ πρὸ τῶν Θέων. Strabo. ix. p. 408. *Ismenus* is thus frequently used by the Latin poets for *Theban*. DUNSTER.

Ver. 581. *So Satan fell; and straight &c.*] Thus in G. Fletcher's *Christ's Triumph on Earth*, where Presumption is personified, and represented as in vain tempting our blessed Lord, st. xxxviii.

“ But, when she saw her speech prevailed nought,
 “ Herself she tumbled headlong to the floor;
 “ But him the Angels on their feathers caught,
 “ And to an airy mountain nimbly bore.” DUNSTER.

Ibid. ———— and straight a fiery globe

Of Angels on full sail of wing flew nigh,

Who on their plummy vans &c.] There is a peculiar

softness and delicacy in this description, and neither circumstances nor words could be better selected to give the reader an idea of the easy and gentle descent of our Saviour, and to take from the imagination that horror and uneasiness which it is naturally filled with in contemplating the dangerous and uneasy situation he was left in. THYER.

So Psyche was carried down from the rock by Zephyrs, and laid lightly on a green and flowery bank, and there entertained with invisible musick. See Apuleius, Lib. iv. RICHARDSON.

Who on their plummy vans receiv'd him soft
 From his uneasy station, and upbore, 584
 As on a floating couch, through the blithe air ;

Mr. Richardson might have added that Psyche was also entertained with a banquet ministered by Spirits. See the end of the fourth Book of the *Metamorphoses*, and the beginning of the fifth.

DUNSTER.

It should also be added that the *globe of Angels* was perhaps suggested by G. Fletcher, *Christ's Triumph*, st. 13.

————— “ out there flies
 “ *A globe of winged Angels, swift as thought.*”

See also *Par. Lost*, B. ii. 512.

Ver. 583. *Who on their plummy vans receiv'd him soft*

From his uneasy station, and upbore,

As on a floating couch, through the blithe air ;] This description reminds me of an Assumption of the Virgin, by Guido, in St. Ambrosio's Church at Genoa ; only the motion of the whole groupe there is ascending.—If it is not from any famous painting, it is certainly a subject for one. DUNSTER.

Ibid. *Who on their plummy vans receiv'd him soft*] The grammatical inaccuracy here, I am afraid, cannot be palliated. *Him*, according to the common construction of language, certainly must refer to Satan, the person last mentioned. The intended sense of the passage cannot indeed be misunderstood ; but we grieve to find any inaccuracy in a part of the poem so eminently beautiful. DUNSTER,

Ibid. ————— *vans*] See *Par. Lost*, B. ii. 927, and Tasso, *Gier. Lib.* c. ix. st. 60.

“ *Indi spiega al gran volo i vanni aurati.*” DUNSTER.

Ver. 585. ————— *through the blithe air ;*] Which way soever I turn this term *blithe*, it conveys no idea to me suitable to the place it occupies ; nor do my dictionaries aid me in the least. The place is certainly corrupted, and ought to run thus, “ *through the lithe air.*” Milton uses the word in his *Par. Lost* in the sense required here, “ and wreath'd his *lithe*

Then, in a flowery valley, set him down
On a green bank, and set before him spread
A table of celestial food, divine

proboscis," B. iv. 347. I make no doubt of the certainty of this conjecture. SYMPSON.

I question whether others will have so good an opinion of this emendation. "Through the *blithe* air" I conceive to be much the same as if he had said "through the *glad* air," and the propriety of such a metaphor wants no justification or explanation.

NEWTON.

"*Blithe* air" is similar to "*buxom* air," *Par. Lost*, B. ii. 842, B. v. 270. But I conceive it to have a farther meaning, *cheerful*, or *pleased with its burthen*; and it strikes me as an intended contrast to a passage in the *Paradise Lost*, describing the flight of Satan, at the time he first rises from the burning lake, when *the dusky air is loaded with his weight*, B. i. 226. DUNSTER.

I humbly apprehend that "*blithe* air" is not similar to "*buxom* air;" for *buxom* signifies *yielding*, or *flexible*, and is, in this sense, the accustomed epithet to *air* among our elder poets: Mr. Sympson's "*lithe* air" approaches nearer to "*buxom* air," because *lithe* also means *flexible*. But the poet wrote "*blithe* air" in reference perhaps to the "fair morning after a dismal night; the clouds being now chas'd, and the winds laid;" and the air consequently *blithe*, light and pure; the epithet *blithe* finely expressing what he says of the *pure air* of Paradise, *Par. Lost*, B. iv. 154.

—————"to the heart inspires
"Vernal delight and joy, able to drive
"All sadness but despair."

Cowley uses the similar combination of "*glad* air" in his *Davideis*, B. i.

"Then flocks of birds through the *glad* air did flee."

The Italian *lieto*, in like manner, sometimes signifies *fresh*. See *Della Crusca*.

Ver. 587. ————— and set before him spread

A table of celestial food, &c.] Here is much resemblance to a stanza of G. Fletcher, *Christ's Triumph* &c. st. 61.

Ambrosial fruits, fetch'd from the tree of life,
 And, from the fount of life, ambrosial drink, 590
 That soon refresh'd him wearied, and repair'd
 What hunger, if aught hunger, had impair'd,
 Or thirst; and, as he fed, angelick quires
 Sung heavenly anthems of his victory
 Over Temptation and the Tempter proud. 595
 True image of the Father; whether thron'd

“ But to their Lord, now musing in his thought,
 “ *A heavenly volley of light Angels flew,*
 “ And from his Father him *a banquet brought*
 “ *Through the fine element*; for well they knew
 “ After his lenten fast *he hungry grew*;
 “ And, *as he fed, the holy quires combine*
 “ *To sing a hymn of the celestial trine.*” DUNSTER.

Ver. 593. ————— angelick quires

Sung heavenly anthems of his victory &c.] As Milton in his *Paradise Lost* had represented the Angels singing triumph upon the Messiah's victory over the rebel Angels; so here again with the same propriety they are described celebrating his success against temptation, and to be sure he could not have possibly concluded his work with greater dignity and solemnity, or more agreeably to the rules of poetick decorum. THYER.

Ver. 596. *True image of the Father*; &c.]

“ Cedite Romani scriptores, cedite Graii.”

All the poems that ever were written must yield, even *Paradise Lost* must yield, to the *Regained* in the grandeur of its close. Christ stands triumphant on the pointed eminence. The Demon falls with amazement and terrour, on this full proof of his being that very Son of God, whose thunder forced him out of Heaven. The blessed Angels receive new knowledge. They behold a sublime truth established, which was a secret to them at the beginning of the Temptation; and the great discovery gives a proper opening to their hymn on the victory of Christ, and the defeat of the Tempter. CALTON.

In the bosom of blifs, and light of light
Conceiving, or, remote from Heaven, enshrin'd
In fleshly tabernacle, and human form,

Ver. 596. ————— *whether thron'd*

In the bosom of blifs,] Thus *Paradise Lost*, B. iii.
238, the Son of God says to the Father ;

————— “ I, for his sake, will leave
“ *Thy bosom*, and this glory next to thee ;”

and the Father, in reply, ver. 305.

“ Because thou hast, though *thron'd in highest blifs*
“ Equal to God, &c.”

The Son of God, after having descended to earth to pass sentence on fallen man, is likewise similarly described returning to his Father in Heaven, and

“ Into *his blissful bosom* reasum'd
“ In glory as of old,” *Par. Lost*, B. x. 225.

DUNSTER.

The Scripture suggested the expression to the poet : “ The only-begotten Son, which is *in the bosom of the Father*,” John, i. 18.

Ver. 598. ————— *enshrin'd*

In fleshly tabernacle, and human form,] St. John, i. 14. says, καὶ ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο, καὶ ἔΣΚΗΝΩΣΕΝ ἐν ἡμῖν,—which, literally translated, is, “ the word was made *flesh*, and *tabernacled* among us. St. Paul, II Cor. v. 1, terms the body or the “ human form” our earthly house of *this tabernacle*,—ὁ ἡμετέρος ἡμῶν οἶκος τοῦ ἔΣΚΗΝΟΥΣ.—Thus also our Author, in his unfinished Ode, *the Passion* ;

“ He, sovran Priest, stooping his regal head,
“ That dropp'd with odorous oil down his fair eyes,
“ Poor *fleshly tabernacle* entered.”

And in his Latin Poem, *On the Death of Felton, Bishop of Ely*, he speaks of

“ *Animasque mole carnea reconditas.*” DUNSTER.

Wandering the wilderneys ; whatever place, 600
 Habit, or state, or motion, still expressing
 The Son of God, with God-like force endued
 Against the attempter of thy Father's throne,
 And thief of Paradise ! Him long of old
 Thou didst debel, and down from Heaven cast 605
 With all his army ; now thou hast aveng'd
 Supplanted Adam, and, by vanquishing
 Temptation, hast regain'd lost Paradise,
 And frustrated the conquest fraudulent.
 He never more henceforth will dare set foot 610
 In Paradise to tempt ; his snares are broke :

Ver. 600. ————— *whatever place,*
Habit, or state, or motion,] Probably not without
 allusion to Horace, *Ep.* I. xvii. 23.

“ Omnis Aristippum decuit color, et status, et res.”

NEWTON.

Ver. 604. *And thief of Paradise !]* Thus, *Paradise Lost*,
 B. iv. 192, where Satan first enters *Paradise* ;

“ So clomb this *first grand thief* into God's fold.”

DUNSTER.

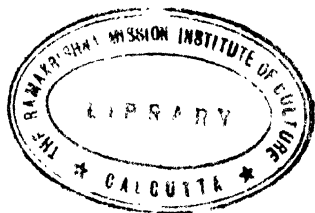
The phrase probably owes its origin to St. *John* x. 1. “ He
 that entereth not in by the door to the sheepfold, but *climbeth*
 up some other way, the same is a *thief* and a *robber*.” I should
 add, that a *thief* is one of the titles which venerable Bede has
 expressly given to the Devil. See a list of these titles in Wierus
de Præstigiis Dæmon. 1582, p. 109.

Ver. 605. *Thou didst debel,]* Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 853. “ *De-
 bellare superbos.*” NEWTON.

Ver. 607. *Supplanted]* See note on *Par. Lost*, B. x. 513.

Ver. 611. ————— *his snares are broke:]* “ Our
 soul is escaped as a bird out of the snare of the fowler ; the
snare is broken, and we are delivered.” *Psalms*, cxxiv. 7.

DUNSTER.



No triumph : in all her gates Abaddon rues
 Thy bold attempt. Hereafter learn with awe 625
 To dread the Son of God : He, all unarm'd,
 Shall chafe thee, with the terroure of his voice,
 From thy demoniack holds, possession foul,

Ver. 624. ————— in all her gates] *Mat. xvi. 18.*
 "The gates of Hell shall not prevail against it." DUNSTER.

It must be added, that the turn of the whole expression,
 "Abaddon rues in all her gates," is also scriptural : for thus it
 is said of degenerate Zion, "And her gates shall lament and
 mourn," *Isaiah iii. 26.*

Ibid. ————— Abaddon] The name of
 the Angel of the bottomless pit, *Rev. ix. 11* ; here applied to
 the bottomless pit itself. NEWTON.

Ver. 626. ————— all unarm'd,] In
 Vida's *Christiad*, i. 192, Satan describes himself having been
 completely foiled and defeated by our Saviour thus *all unarm'd* ;

—————"semper me reppulit ipse,
 "Non armis ullis fretus, non viribus usus :"

But *all unarm'd* seems here to be an intended contrast to that
 very fine description in *Paradise Lost*, of the Messiah completely
 armed, ascending "the chariot of paternal Deity," to accom-
 plish the victory over the rebel Angels, and to drive them out
 of Heaven, *B. vi. 760—766.* DUNSTER.

Ver. 628. *From thy demoniack holds, possesion foul,*] The
δαίμονιζόμενοι, or *demoniacks* of the Gospel, are constantly rendered
 in our version "*possessed with a devil*." And Babylon is de-
 scribed "the habitation of devils, and the hold of every foul
 spirit," *Rev. xviii. 2.* DUNSTER.

That is, Babylon is become a *desart*, as prefigured by the
 prophets *Isaiah* and *Jeremiah*. *Wildernesses* are often described
 as the accustomed haunts of devils. See *Elfnor in Luc. viii. 29.*
 Thus also *Tasso's forest*, abounding with horrid demons, is
 termed "a charmed hold," *Fairfax, B. xviii. st.* The demons

Sung victor, and, from heavenly feast refresh'd,
Brought on his way with joy; he, unobserv'd,
Home to his mother's house private return'd.

Ver. 637. ——— from heavenly feast refresh'd,] Milton formed his description of the *heavenly feast*, from the few words of *Matt.* iv. 11. "And behold, *Angels* came and *ministered unto him.*" Compare v. 587 &c. Let it be added that a finer commentary on the expression of the Evangelist could not have been penned.



Paradise Regained has not met with the approbation that it deserves. It has not the harmony of numbers, the sublimity of thought, and the beauties of diction, which are in *Paradise Lost*. It is composed in a lower and less striking style; a style suited to the subject. Artful sophistry, false reasoning, set off in the most specious manner, and refuted by the Son of God with strong unaffected eloquence, is the peculiar excellence of this poem. Satan there defends a bad cause with great skill and subtlety, as one thoroughly versed in that craft;

"Qui facere assuerat

"Candida de nigris, et de candentibus atra." JORTIN.

If it be asked, *Whether the PARADISE REGAINED be complete or not?* Those, who take the Affirmative, say, that as the action of the *Paradise Lost* was complete when the Fall of Man was complete; so the action of the *Paradise Regained* was complete, when our Saviour had defeated the Tempter in the wilderness. Those, who take the Negative, say, that as the action of *Paradise Regained* was not complete till Christ was ascended up on high, and had *led captivity captive*; so this poem, as it doth not likewise carry on the history so far, cannot therefore be complete.

Milton's proposition at the beginning of the first book, and his hymn at the close of the fourth, incline one to the first of these opinions; but it may be replied on the other side, that the proposition is sometimes written last, or at least sometimes altered

at last, to make it answer, not what the author really intended, but what he afterwards found time to perform: and that the same may be said of the hymn. And again, that the want of arguments to all the four books, and the four last lines of the fourth, make also for the Negative. The resolution of this question appearing a matter of some difficulty, I asked the opinion of a learned friend (William Cooper Esq. Clerk of the Parliaments) whose answer is written with great judgement. Take it therefore in his own words.

“ For my opinion about the *PARADISE REGAINED*, *whether complete or not?* There is nobody less possessed of the means to decide such a critical question than myself; or indeed any other philological one; but, if you will have it, I think it is so. And that, not merely because Milton himself seems to have thought so, by ending it there; but because I observe the *Iliad* to be finished by the death &c. of Hector, and the *Æneid* by that of Turnus: that is, when the action had proceeded so far as to bring to pass the cardinal event upon which all that was to follow must happen; after Hector's death, Troy must fall; and, when Turnus was slain, Æneas must establish himself, by marrying Lavinia &c. So, after the Tempter defeated, Man was put into a state of *regaining Paradise*, as Christ thereby stood enabled to perform all the points of his mission and purposes, which were to be the ground of it. It is these breaks, and leaving things to be imagined, &c. that, with the use of some other figures, make a poem differ from a dry history. In the first, 'tis enough to show the reader the promised land distinctly; the last ought to carry him thither, and put him in possession.”

The *Paradise Regained* is certainly a most admirable Poem, and breathes the very genius, and spirit, and soul of Milton in every line; and, in a word, is worthy, not only of him, but even of

“ Blind Melchigenes, thence Homer call'd,

“ Whose poem Phœbus challeng'd for his own.”

PECK.

Whether Milton supposed the Redemption of Mankind, as he here represents it, was procured by Christ's Triumph over the Devil in the wilderness; or whether he thought that the scene of the desert opposed to that of Paradise, and the action of a

temptation withstood, to a temptation fallen under, made *Paradise Regained* a more regular sequel to *Paradise Lost*: Or, if neither this nor that, whether it was his being tired out with the labour of composing *Paradise Lost*, which made him averse to another work of length, (and then he would never be at a loss for fanciful reasons to determine him in the choice of his plan,) is very uncertain. All that we can be sure of is, that the plan is a very unhappy one, and defective even in that narrow view of a sequel; for it affords the poet no opportunity of driving the Devil back again to Hell from his new conquests in the air. In the mean time nothing was easier than to have invented a good one; which should end with the Resurrection, and comprise *these four books*, somewhat contracted, in an episode; for which only the subject of them is fit. WARBURTON.

Confined as the subject of *Paradise Regained* was, I make no question that Milton thought it an epick poem as well as the *Paradise Lost*. For, in his invocation, he undertakes

—————“ to tell of deeds
“ Above heroick :”

And he had no notion that an epick poem must of necessity be formed after the example of Homer, and according to the precepts of Aristotle. In the introduction to the second book of his *Reason of Church-Government* he thus delivers his sentiments. “ Time serves not now, and perhaps I might seem too profuse, to give any certain account of what the mind at home, in the spacious circuits of her musing, hath liberty to propose to herself, though of highest hope, and hardest attempting; whether that epick form whereof the two poems of Homer, and those other two of Virgil and Tasso are a *diffuse*, and the book of Job a *brief model*: or whether the rules of Aristotle herein are strictly to be kept, or nature to be followed, which in them that know art, and use judgement, is no transgression, but an enriching of art.” We see that he looked upon the book of Job, as a *brief model of an epick poem*: and the subject of *Paradise Regained* is much the same as that of the book of Job, a good man triumphing over temptation; and the greatest part of it is in dialogue as well as the book of Job, and abounds with moral arguments and reflections, which were more natural to that season of life, and

better suited Milton's age and infirmities, than gay florid descriptions. For, by Mr. Elwood's account, he had not thought of the *Paradise Regained*, till after he had finished the *Paradise Lost*: The first hint of it was suggested by Elwood, while Milton resided at St. Giles Chalfont in Buckinghamshire during the plague in London; and afterwards, when Elwood visited him in London, he showed him the poem finished, so that he was not long in conceiving, or long in writing, it: And this is the reason why in the *Paradise Regained* there are much fewer imitations of, and allusions to, other authors, than in the *Paradise Lost*. The *Paradise Lost* he was long in meditating, and had laid in a large stock of materials, which he had collected from all authors ancient and modern: but in the *Paradise Regained* he composed more from memory, and with no other help from books, than such as naturally occurred to a mind so thoroughly tintured and seasoned, as his was, with all kinds of learning. Mr. Thyer makes the same observation, particularly with regard to the Italian poets. From the very few allusions, says he, to the Italian poets, in this poem one may draw, I think, a pretty conclusive argument for the reality of those pointed out in the notes upon *Paradise Lost*, and show that they are not, as some may imagine, mere accidental coincidences of great geniuses writing upon similar subjects. Admitting them to be such only, no tolerable reason can be assigned why the same should not occur in the same manner in the *Paradise Regained*: whereas, upon the other supposition of their being real, the difference of the two poems in this respect is easily accounted for. It is very certain, that Milton formed his first design of writing an epic poem very soon after his return from Italy, if not before, and highly probable that he then intended it after the Italian model, as he says, speaking of this design in his *Reason of Church Government*, that "he applied himself to that resolution which Ariosto followed against the persuasions of Bembo, to fix all the art and industry he could unite to the adorning of his native tongue"—and again that he was then meditating "what king or knight before the Conquest might be chosen in whom to lay the pattern of a Christian hero, as Tasso gave to a prince of Italy his choice, whether he would command him to write of Godfrey's expedition against the Infidels, or Belisarius against the Goths, or Charle-

main against the Lombards." This would naturally lead him to a frequent perusal of the choicest wits of that country; and although he dropt his first scheme, and was some considerable time before he executed the present work, yet still the impressions he had first received would be fresh in his imagination, and he would of course be drawn to imitate their particular beauties, though he avoided following them in his general plan. The case was far otherwise when the *Paradise Regained* was composed. As Mr. Elwood informs us, Milton did not so much as think of it till he was advanced in years; and it is not very likely, considering the troubles and infirmities he had long laboured under, that his studies had been much employed about that time among the sprightly Italians, or indeed any writers of that turn. Consistent with this supposition we find it of a quite different stamp; and, instead of allusions to poets either ancient or modern, it is full of moral and philosophical reasonings, to which sort of thoughts an afflicted old age must have turned our author's mind.

NEWTON.

If the *Paradise Regained* is inferior, as indeed I think it must be allowed to be, to the *Paradise Lost*, it cannot justly be imputed, as some would have it, to any decay of Milton's genius, but to his being cramped down by a more barren and contracted subject. THYER.

Of *Paradise Regained* the general judgement seems now to be right, that it is in many parts elegant, and every where instructive. It was not to be supposed that the writer of *Paradise Lost* could ever write without great effusions of fancy, and exalted precepts of wisdom. The basis of the poem is narrow; a dialogue without action can never please like an union of the narrative and dramatick powers. Had this Poem been written not by Milton, but by some imitator, it would have claimed and received universal praise. JOHNSON.

Dr. Newton, in his *Life of Milton*, speaking of *this Poem*, says, "Certainly it is very worthy of the author, and, contrary to what Mr. Toland relates, Milton may be seen in *Paradise Regained* as well as in *Paradise Lost*; if it is inferior in poetry, I know not whether it is not superior in sentiment; if it is less descriptive, it is more argumentative; if it doth not

sometimes rise so high, neither doth it ever sink so low ; and it has not met with the approbation it deserves, only because it has not been more read and considered. His subject indeed is confined, and he has a narrow foundation to build upon ; but he has raised as noble a superstructure, as such little room and such scanty materials would allow." Mr. Thyer likewise remarks the barrenness of the subject. Dr. Warburton also pronounces the plan to be " a very unhappy and defective one." But none of these learned critics [except Dr. Newton] seem to have considered what we may collect from our author himself ; that he designed this poem for, what he terms, *the brief epick*, which he particularly distinguishes from the *great and diffuse epick*, of which kind are the great poems of Homer and Virgil, and his own *Paradise Lost*. From the introduction to the second book of his *Reason of Church Government*, [cited in the preceding remark by Dr. Newton,] we may suppose his model to have been in a great measure the book of Job ; and however the subject which he selected may have been considered as narrow ground, and one that cramped his genius, there is no reason to imagine that it was chosen hastily or inconsiderately. It was particularly adapted to the species of poem he meant to produce, namely, the *brief*, or *didactic*, Epick. The basis he thought perfectly adequate to the superstructure which he meant to raise ; to the merit of which the lapse of time bears the material testimony of a gradually encreasing admiration.

Since the above was written, I am happy to add the opinion of a gentleman, whose judgement must have the greatest weight, if to have excelled eminently in poetry is, (as it should be supposed to be,) a title to judge of it in others. " Milton," says Mr. Hayley, " had already executed one extensive divine poem, peculiarly distinguished by richness and sublimity of description : In framing a second he naturally wished to vary its effect ; to make it rich in moral sentiment, and sublime in its mode of unfolding the highest wisdom that man can learn ; for this purpose it was necessary to keep all the ornamental parts of the poem in due subordination to the precept, This delicate and difficult point is accomplished with such felicity ; they are blended together with such exquisite harmony and mutual aid ; that, instead of arraigning the plan, we might rather doubt if any possible

change could improve it. Assuredly there is no poem of an epic form, where the sublimest moral is so forcibly and so abundantly united to poetical delight: the splendour of the poet does not blaze indeed so intensely as in his larger production; here he resembles the Apollo of Ovid, softening his glory in speaking to his son, and avoiding to dazzle the fancy that he may descend into the heart." Hayley's *Life of Milton*. The same biographer, in another place, having spoken of the "uncommon energy of thought and felicity of composition apparent in Milton's two poems, however different in design, dimension, and effect," adds, "To censure the *Paradise Regained*, because it does not more resemble the *Paradise Lost*, is hardly less absurd, than it would be to condemn the Moon for not being a Sun, instead of admiring the two different luminaries, and feeling that both the greater and the less are equally the work of the same divine and inimitable power." DUNSTER.

Doubtless the *Paradise Regained*, like the mild and pleasing brightness of the lesser luminary, will ever obtain its comparative admiration. The fine sentiments, which it breathes; the pure morality, which it inculcates; and the striking imagery, with which it is frequently embellished; must commend the Poem, while taste and virtue are respected, to the grateful approbation of the world. The versification indeed wants the variety and animation, which so eminently distinguish the numbers of *Paradise Lost*. And it cannot but be acknowledged that the plan is faulty: For, to attribute the Redemption of Mankind solely to Christ's triumph over the temptations in the wilderness, is a notion not only contracted, but untrue. The gate of everlasting Life was opened, through the Death and Resurrection of our Lord. Dr. Bentley's remark has not yet been controverted: See the note on *Paradise Lost*, B. x. 182. I do not, however, think, that *Paradise Regained* is without "allusions to poets either ancient or modern," as is insinuated in a preceding remark: It exhibits, on the contrary, several elegant imitations, interwoven with Milton's original graces, both of the classical and the romantick Muses.

THE END OF PARADISE REGAINED.

SAMSON AGONISTES,

A

DRAMATICK POEM.

ARISTOT. *Poet.* Cap. 6.

Τραγωδία μίμησις πράξεως σπουδαίας, κ. τ. λ.

Tragedia est imitatio actionis feræ, &c. per misericordiam
et metum perficiens talium affectuum lustrationem.

VOL. IV.

Z

*Of that sort of Dramatick Poem which is
called Tragedy.*

TRAGEDY, as it was anciently composed, hath been ever held the graveſt, moraleſt, and moſt profitable of all other poems : therefore ſaid by Ariſtotle to be of power by raiſing pity and fear, or terrour, to purge the mind of thoſe and ſuch like paſſions, that is, to temper and reduce them to juſt meaſure with a kind of delight, ſtirred up by reading or ſeeing thoſe paſſions well imitated. Nor is Nature wanting in her own effects to make good his aſſertion: for ſo, in phyſick, things of melancholick hue and quality are uſed againſt melancholy, ſour againſt ſour, ſalt to remove ſalt humours. Hence philoſophers and other graveſt writers, as Cicero, Plutarch, and others, frequently cite out of tragick poets, both to adorn and illuſtrate their diſcourſe. The Apoſtle Paul himſelf thought it not unworthy

[*Of that ſort of dramatick poem, called Tragedy.*] Milton, who was inclined to Puritanism, had good reaſon to think, that the publication of his *Samſon Agonistes* would be very offensive to his brethren, who held poetry, and particularly that of the dramatick kind, in the greateſt abhorrence. And, upon this account, it is probable, that, in order to excuſe himſelf from having engaged in this proſcribed and forbidden ſpecies of writing, he thought it expedient to prefix to his Play a formal *Defence of Tragedy*. WARTON.



to insert ^a a verse of Euripides into the text of Holy Scripture, I *Cor.* xv. 33; and Paræus, commenting on the Revelation, divides the whole book as a tragedy, into acts distinguished each by a chorus of heavenly harpings and song between. Heretofore men in highest dignity have laboured not a little to be thought able to compose a tragedy. Of that honour Dionysius the elder was no less ambitious, than before of his attaining to the tyranny. Augustus Cæsar also had begun his Ajax, but, unable to please his own judgement with what he had begun, left it

^a *a verse of Euripides*] The verse here quoted is *Evil communications corrupt good manners*: but I am inclined to think that Milton is mistaken in calling it a verse of *Euripides*; for Jerome and Grotius (who published the fragments of Menander) and the best commentators, ancient and modern, say that it is taken from the Thais of *Menander*, and it is extant among the fragments of Menander, p. 79. Le Clerc's edit.

Φθίγαςίν ἦθη χρῆσθ' ὀμιλίαι κακῇ.

Such slips of memory may be found sometimes in the best writers.

NEWTON.

Mr. Glasse, the learned translator of this tragedy into Greek Iambicks, agrees with Dr. Newton. Dr. Macknight, in his excellent Translation of the Epistles, is of opinion, that the sentiment is of elder date than the time of Menander; that it was one of the proverbial verses commonly received among the Greeks, the author of which cannot now be known. Clemens Alexandrinus calls it ἱερὸν τραγικόν, *Strom.* lib. i. ^a And Socrates the historian expressly assigns it to Euripides, *Ecc. Hist.* lib. iii. cap. 16. ed. Vales. p. 189. It is extant indeed in the fragments of Euripides, as well as in those of the comick writer. Milton therefore is not to be charged with forgetfulness, or mistake.

unfinished. Seneca, the philosopher is by some thought the author of those tragedies (at least the best of them) that go under that name. Gregory Nazianzen, a Father of the Church, thought it not unbecoming the sanctity of his person to write a tragedy, which is entitled *Christ suffering*. This is mentioned to vindicate tragedy from the small esteem, or rather infamy, which in the account of many it undergoes at this day with other common interludes; happening through the poet's error of intermixing comick stuff with tragick sadness and gravity; or introducing trivial and vulgar persons, which by all judicious hath been counted absurd; and brought in without discretion, corruptly to gratify the people. And though Ancient Tragedy use no prologue, yet using sometimes, in case of self-defence, or explanation, that which Martial calls an epistle; in behalf of this tragedy coming forth after the ancient manner, much different from what among us passes for best, thus much before-hand may be epistled; that ³ Chorus is here introduced

³ *Chorus is here introduced*] The reader will find a masterly account of the old Chorus in Mr. Cumberland's Observations on this tragedy. "But," to use the words of Dr. Warton, "what shall we say to the strong objections lately made by some very able and learned critics of the use of the Chorus at all? The critics I have in view, are Metastasio, Twining, Pye, Colman, and Johnson; who have brought forward such powerful arguments against this so important a part of the ancient drama, as to shake our conviction of its utility and propriety, founded on

after the Greek manner, ⁴ not ancient only but modern, and still in use among the Italians. In the modelling therefore of this poem, with good reason, the Ancients and Italians are rather followed, as of much more authority and fame. The measure of verse used in the Chorus is of all sorts, called by the Greeks Monostrophick, or rather Apolelymenon, without regard had to Strophe, Antistrophe, or Epode, which were a kind of stanzas framed only for the musick, then used with the Chorus that sung; not essential to the poem, and therefore not material; or, being divided into stanzas or pauses, they may be called Allæostropha. Division into act and scene referring chiefly to the stage (to which this work never was intended) is here omitted.

It suffices if the whole drama be found not produced beyond the fifth act. Of the style and uniformity, and that commonly called the plot, whether intricate or explicit; which is nothing

what Hurd, Mason, and Brumoy, have so earnestly and elegantly recommended on the subject." Warton's *Pope*, vol. i. p. 158.

⁴ *not ancient only but modern,*] So, in *The Warres of Cyrus*, 1594, the Address to the Audience observes, that all "antickes imitations, shews, or new devices sprung a late, are exilde from their tragick stage, as trash, &c.

" For what they do
 " In stead of mournfull plaints our CHORUS sings;
 " Although it be against the vpstart guise,
 " Yet, warranted by graue antiquitie,
 " We will reuiue the which hath long bene done."

indeed but such œconomy, or disposition of the fable as may stand best with verifimilitude and decorum ; they only will best judge who are not unacquainted with Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, the three tragick poets unequalled yet by any, and the best rule to all who endeavour to write tragedy. The circumscription of time, wherein the whole drama begins and ends, is according to ancient rule, and best example, within the space of twenty-four hours.

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS

ON

SAMSON AGONISTES.

(a) IT is required by Aristotle to the perfection of a tragedy, and is equally necessary to every other species of regular composition, that it should have a beginning, a middle, and an end. "The beginning," says he, "is that which has nothing necessarily previous, but to which that which follows is naturally consequent; the end, on the contrary, is that which by necessity, or at least according to the common course of things, succeeds something else, but which implies nothing consequent to itself; the middle is connected on one side to something that naturally goes before, and on the other to something that naturally follows it."

Such is the rule, laid down by this great critick, for the disposition of the different parts of a well constituted fable. It must begin, where it may be made intelligible without introduction; and end, where the mind is left in repose, without expectation of any further event. The intermediate passages must join the last effect to the first cause, by a regular and unbroken concatenation; nothing must be therefore inserted which does not apparently arise from something foregoing, and properly make way for something that succeeds it.

This precept is to be understood in its rigour, only with respect to great and essential events, and cannot be extended in the same force to minuter circumstances and arbitrary decorations, which yet are more happy as they contribute more to the main design; for it is always a proof of extensive thought and accurate circumspection, to promote various purposes by the same act; and the idea of an ornament admits use, though it seems to exclude necessity.

(a) From Dr. Johnson's *Rambler*, vol. iii. No. 139, and No. 140.

Whoever purposes, as it is expressed by Milton, “ *to build the lofty rhyme,*” must acquaint himself with this law of poetical architecture, and take care that his edifice be solid as well as beautiful; that nothing stand single or independant, so as that it may be taken away without injuring the rest; but that from the foundation to the pinnacles one part rest firm upon another.

This regular and consequential distribution is among common authors frequently neglected; but the failures of those, whose example can have no influence, may be safely overlooked, nor is it of much use to recall obscure and unregarded names to memory, for the sake of sporting with their infamy. But if there is any writer whose genius can embellish impropriety, and whose authority can make error venerable, his works are the proper objects of critical inquisition. To expunge faults where there are no excellencies, is a task equally useless with that of the chemist, who employs the arts of separation and refinement upon ore, in which no precious metal is contained to reward his operations.

The tragedy of *Samson Agonistes* has been celebrated as the second work of the great author of *Paradise Lost*, and opposed with all the confidence of triumph to the dramatick performances of other nations. It contains indeed just sentiments, maxims of wisdom, and oracles of piety, and many passages written with the ancient spirit of choral poetry, in which there is a just and pleasing mixture of Seneca’s moral declamation with the wild enthusiasm of the Greek writers. It is therefore worthy of examination, whether a performance thus illuminated with genius, and enriched with learning, is composed according to the indispensable laws of Aristotelian criticism; and, omitting at present all other considerations, whether it exhibits a beginning, a middle, and an end. *

The (b) beginning is undoubtedly beautiful and proper, opening with a graceful abruptness, and proceeding naturally to a mourn-

(b) As this work, says doctor Newton, was not intended for the stage, it is not divided into acts; but if any critick should be disposed so to divide it, he may easily do it, by beginning the *second* act at the entrance of Manoah; the *third* at the entrance of Dalila; the *fourth* at the entrance of Harapha; and the *fifth* at the entrance of the Publick Officer: But the Stage is never empty or without persons, according to the model of the best-written tragedies among the ancients.

ful recital of facts necessary to be known. The soliloquy of Samson is interrupted by a Chorus, or company of men of his own tribe, who condole his miseries, extenuate his fault, and conclude with a solemn vindication of Divine Justice. So that, at the conclusion of the first act, there is no design laid, no discovery made, nor any disposition formed towards the subsequent event.

In the second act, Manoah, the father of Samson, comes to seek his son; and, being shown him by the Chorus, breaks out into lamentations of his misery, and comparisons of his present with his former state; representing to him the ignominy which his religion suffers, by the festival this day celebrated in honour of Dagon, to whom the idolaters ascribed his overthrow. Samson, touched with the reproach, makes a reply equally penitential and pious, which his father considers as the effusion of prophetic confidence.

Samson.

“ God, be sure,

“ Will not connive or linger, thus provok’d,

“ But will arise and his great name assert :

“ Dagon must stoop, and shall e’er long receive

“ Such a discomfit, as shall quite despoil him

“ Of all these boasted trophies won on me.

Manoah. “ With cause this hope relieves thee, and these words

“ I as a prophecy receive ; for God,

“ Nothing more certain, will not long defer

“ To vindicate the glory of his Name.”

This part of the dialogue, as it might tend to animate or exasperate Samson, cannot, I think, be censured as wholly superfluous ; but the succeeding dispute, in which Samson contends to die, and which his father breaks off, that he may go to solicit his release, is only valuable for its own beauties, and has no tendency to introduce any thing that follows it.

The next event of the drama is the arrival of Dalila, with all her graces, artifices, and allurements. This produces a dialogue, in a very high degree elegant and instructive, from which she retires, after she has exhausted her persuasions, and is no more seen or heard of ; nor has her visit any effect but that of raising the character of Samson.

In the fourth act enters Harapha, the giant of Gath, whose name had never been mentioned before, and who has now no other motive of coming than to see the man whose strength and actions are so loudly celebrated. Samson challenges him to the combat; and, after an interchange of reproaches, elevated by repeated defiance on one side, and embittered by contemptuous insults on the other, Harapha retires; we then hear it determined, by Samson and the Chorus, that no consequence good or bad will proceed from their interview.

At last, in the fifth act, appears a Messenger from the lords assembled at the festival of Dagon, with a summons, by which Samson is required to come and entertain them with some proof of his strength. Samson, after a short expostulation, dismisses him with a firm and absolute refusal; but during the absence of the Messenger, having a while defended the propriety of his conduct, he at last declares himself moved by a secret impulse to comply, and utters some dark presages of a great event to be brought to pass by his agency, under the direction of Providence. While Samson is conducted off by the Messenger, his father returns with hopes of success in his solicitation, upon which he confers with the Chorus till their dialogue is interrupted, first by a shout of triumph, and afterwards by screams of horror and agony. As they stand deliberating where they shall be secure, a man, who had been present at the show, enters; and relates how Samson, having prevailed on his guide to suffer him to lean against the main pillars of the theatrical edifice, tore down the roof upon the spectators and himself. This is undoubtedly a just and regular catastrophe; and the poem, therefore, has a beginning and an end which Aristotle himself could not have disapproved; but it must be allowed to want a middle, since nothing passes between the first act and the last, that either hastens or delays the death of Samson. The whole drama, if its superfluities were cut off, would scarcely fill a single act; yet this is the tragedy which ignorance has admired, and bigotry applauded.

It is common, says Bacon, to desire the end without enduring the means. Every member of society feels, and acknowledges, the necessity of detecting crimes; yet scarce any degree of virtue or reputation is able to secure an informer from public hatred. The learned world has always admitted the usefulness of critical

disquisitions; yet he that attempts to show, however modestly, the failures of a celebrated writer, shall surely irritate his admirers, and incur the imputation of envy, captiousness, and malignity.

With this danger full in my view, I shall proceed to examine the sentiments of Milton's tragedy, which, though much less liable to censure than the disposition of his plan, are, like those of other writers, sometimes exposed to just exception for want of care, or want of discernment.

Sentiments are proper and improper as they consist more or less with the character and circumstances of the person to whom they are attributed, with the rules of the composition in which they are found, or with the settled and unalterable nature of things.

It is common among the tragick poets to introduce their persons alluding to events or opinions, of which they could not possibly have any knowledge. The barbarians of remote or newly discovered regions often display their skill in European learning. The god of love is mentioned in Tamerlane with all the familiarity of a Roman epigrammatist; and a late writer has put Harvey's doctrine of the circulation of the blood into the mouth of a Turkish statesman, who lived near two centuries before it was known even to philosophers or anatomists.

Milton's learning, which acquainted him with the manners of the ancient eastern nations; and his invention, which required no assistance from the common cant of poetry; have preserved him from frequent outrages of local or chronological propriety. Yet he has mentioned *Chalybean steel* (ver. 133.), of which it is not very likely that his Chorus should have heard; and has made *Alps* the general name of a mountain (ver. 628.), in a region where the *Alps* could scarcely be known. He has taught Samson the tales of Circe and the Syrens, at which he apparently hints in his colloquy with Dalila:

“ Thy fair *enchanted cup*, and *warbling charms*,

“ No more on me have power.”

But the grossest error of this kind is the solemn introduction of the phoenix in the last scene; which is faulty, not only as it is incongruous to the personage to whom it is ascribed, but as it is so evidently contrary to reason and nature, that it ought never to be mentioned but as a fable in any serious poem. ♀

Another species of impropriety is the unfuitableness of thoughts to the general character of the poem. The seriousness and solemnity of tragedy necessarily rejects all pointed or epigrammatical expressions, all remote conceits and opposition of ideas. Samson's complaint is therefore too elaborate to be natural :

“ As in the land of darkness, yet in light,
 “ To live a life half dead, a living death,
 “ And buried ; but O yet more miserable !
 “ Myself my sepulchre, a moving grave !
 “ Buried, yet not exempt,
 “ By privilege of death and burial,
 “ From worst of other evils, pains and wrongs.”

All allusions to low and trivial objects, with which contempt is usually associated, are doubtless unsuitable to a species of composition, which ought to be always awful, though not always magnificent. The remark therefore of the Chorus on good and bad news, seems to want elevation :

Manoah. “ A little stay will bring some notice hither.
Chorus. “ Of good or bad so great, of bad the sooner ;
 “ For evil news *rides post*, while good news *bates*.”

But of all meannefs, that has least to plead which is produced by mere verbal conceits ; which, depending only upon sounds, lose their existence by the change of a syllable. Of this kind is the following dialogue ;

Chor. “ But had we best retire ? I see a *storm*.
Samf. “ Fair days have oft contracted wind and rain.
Chor. “ But this another kind of tempest brings.
Samf. “ Be less abstruse, my riddling days are past.
Chor. “ Look now for no enchanting voice, nor fear
 “ The bait of honied words ; a rougher tongue
 “ Draws hitherward ; I know him by his stride,
 “ The giant Harapha.”

And yet more despicable are the lines in which Manoah's paternal kindness is commended by the Chorus :

“ Fathers are wont to *lay up* for their sons,
 “ Thou for thy son art bent to *lay out* all.”

Samson's complaint of the inconveniences of imprisonment is not wholly without verbal quaintness :

———" I, a *prisoner* chain'd, scarce freely draw
 " The air *imprison'd* also, close and damp."

From the sentiments we may properly descend to the consideration of the language, which, in imitation of the ancients, is through the whole dialogue remarkably simple and unadorned, seldom heightened by epithets, or varied by figures ; yet sometimes metaphors find admission, even where their consistency is not accurately preserved. Thus Samson confounds loquacity with a shipwreck :

" How could I once look up, or heave the head,
 " Who, like a foolish *pilot*, have *shipwreck'd*
 " My *vessel* trusted to me from above,
 " Gloriously *rigg'd* ; and for a word, a tear,
 " Fool, have *divulg'd* the *secret gift* of God
 " To a deceitful woman ?"

And the Chorus talks of adding fuel to flame in a report :

" He's gone, and who knows how he may *report*
 " Thy *words*, by *adding fuel to the flame*."

The versification is in the dialogue much more smooth and harmonious, than in the parts allotted to the Chorus, which are often so harsh and dissonant, as scarce to preserve, whether the lines end with or without rhymes, any appearance of metrical regularity.

Since I have thus pointed out the faults of Milton, critical integrity requires that I should endeavour to display his excellencies, though they will not easily be discovered in short quotations, because they consist in the justness of diffuse reasonings, or in the contexture and method of continued dialogues ; this play having none of those descriptions, similes, or splendid sentences, with which other tragedies are so lavishly adorned.

Yet some passages may be selected which seem to deserve particular notice, either as containing sentiments of passion, representations of life, precepts of conduct, or sallies of imagination. It is not easy to give a stronger representation of the weariness of dependancy, than in the words of Samson to his father :

————— “ I feel my genial spirits droop,
 “ My hopes all flat ; Nature within me seems
 “ In all her functions weary of herself ;
 “ My race of glory run, and race of shame,
 “ And I shall shortly be with them that rest.”

The reply of Samson to the flattering Dalila affords a just and striking representation of the stratagems and allurements of feminine hypocrisy :

————— “ These are thy wonted arts,
 “ And arts of every woman false like thee,
 “ To break all faith, all vows, deceive, betray,
 “ Then as repentant to submit, beseech,
 “ And reconciliation move with feign’d remorse,
 “ Confess, and promise wonders in her change ;
 “ Not truly penitent, but chief to try
 “ Her husband, how far urg’d his patience bears,
 “ His virtue or weakness which way to assail :
 “ Then with more cautious and instructed skill
 “ Again transgresses, and again submits.”

When Samson has refused to make himself a spectacle at the feast of Dagon, he first justifies his behaviour to the Chorus, who charge him with having served the Philistines, by a very just distinction ; and then destroys the common excuse of cowardice and servility, which always confound temptation with repulsion :

Chor. “ Yet with thy strength thou serv’st the Philistines,
Samf. “ Not in their idol-worship, but by labour
 “ Honest and lawful to deserve my food
 “ Of those who have me in their civil power.
Chor. “ Where the heart joins not, outward acts defile not.
Samf. “ Where outward force constrains, the sentence holds ;
 “ But who constrains me to the temple of Dagon,
 “ Not dragging ? The Philistine lords command.
 “ Commands are no constraints. If I obey them,
 “ I do it freely, venturing to displease
 “ God for the fear of Man, and Man prefer,
 “ Set God behind.”

The complaint of blindness, which Samson pours out at the beginning of the tragedy, is equally addressed to the passions and

the fancy. The enumeration of his miseries is succeeded by a very pleasing train of poetical images, and concluded by such expostulations and wishes, as reason too often submits to learn from despair.

Such are the faults, and such the beauties, of *Samson Agonistes*; which I have shown with no other purpose than to promote the knowledge of true criticism. The everlasting verdure of Milton's laurels has nothing to fear from the blasts of malignity; nor can my attempt produce any other effect than to strengthen their shoots by lopping their luxuriance. JOHNSON.

* When I remarked that Jonson, in his comedy of *The Fox*, was a close copier of the ancients, it occurred to me to say something upon the celebrated drama of *Samson Agonistes*; which, though less beholden to the Greek poets in its dialogue than the comedy above-mentioned, is in all other particulars as complete an imitation of the Ancient Tragedy, as the distance of times and the difference of languages will admit of.

It is professedly *built according to ancient rule and example*; and the author, by taking Aristotle's definition of tragedy for his motto, fairly challenges the critick to examine and compare it by that test. His close adherence to the model of the Greek tragedy is in nothing more conspicuous than in the simplicity of his diction; in this particular he has curbed his fancy with so tight a hand, that, knowing as we do the fertile vein of his genius, we cannot but lament the fidelity of his imitation; for there is a harshness in the metre of his Chorus, which to a certain degree seems to border upon pedantry and affectation; he premises that *the measure is indeed of all sorts*, but I must take leave to observe that in some places it is no measure at all, or such at least as the ear will not patiently endure, nor which any recitation can make harmonious. By casting out of his composition the strophe and antistrophe, those stanzas which the Greeks appropriated to singing, or in one word by making his Chorus monostrophick, he has robbed it of that lyric beauty, which he was capable of bestowing in the highest perfection; and why he should stop short in this particular, when he had otherwise gone so far in imitation, is not easy to guess; for surely it would have

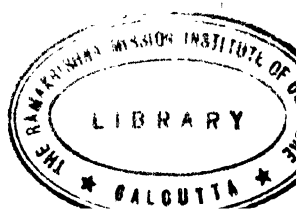
* From Mr. Cumberland's *Observer*, vol. iv. No. 111.

been quite as natural to suppose these stanzas, had he written any, might be sung, as that all the other parts, as the drama now stands with a Chorus of such irregular measure, might be recited or given in representation.

Now it is well known to every man conversant in the Greek theatre, how the Chorus, which in fact is the parent of the drama, came in process of improvement to be woven into the fable, and from being at first the whole grew in time to be only a part: The fable being simple, and the characters few, the striking part of the spectacle rested upon the singing and dancing of the interlude, if I may so call it, and to these the people were too long accustomed and too warmly attached, to allow of any reform for their exclusion; the tragick poet therefore never got rid of his Chorus, though the writers of the Middle Comedy contrived to dismiss theirs, and probably their fable being of a more lively character, their scenes were better able to stand without the support of musick and spectacle, than the mournful fable and more languid recitation of the tragedians. That the tragick authors laboured against the Chorus, will appear from their efforts to expel Bacchus and his Satyrs from the stage, in which they were long time opposed by the audience, and at last by certain ingenious expedients, which were a kind of compromise with the publick, effected their point: This in part was brought about by the introduction of a fuller scene and a more active fable, but the Chorus with its accompaniments kept its place; and the poet, who seldom ventured upon introducing more than three speakers on the scene at the same time, qualified the sterility of his business by giving to the Chorus a share of the dialogue, who, at the same time that they furnished the stage with numbers, were not counted amongst the speaking characters according to the rigour of the usage above-mentioned. A man must be an enthusiast for antiquity, who can find charms in the dialogue-part of a Greek chorus, and reconcile himself to their unnatural and chilling interruptions, of the action and pathos of the scene: I am fully persuaded they came there upon motives of expediency only, and kept their post upon the plea of long possession, and the attractions of spectacle and musick: In short, nature was sacrificed to the display of art, and the heart gave up its feelings that the ear and eye might be gratified.

VOL. IV.

A a



When Milton therefore takes the Chorus into his dialogue, excluding from his drama the lyric strophe and antistrophe, he rejects what I conceive to be its only recommendation, and which an elegant contemporary in his imitations of the Greek tragedy is more properly attentive to; at the same time it cannot be denied that Milton's Chorus subscribes more to the dialogues, and harmonizes better with the business of the scene, than that of any Greek tragedy we can now refer to.

I would now proceed to a review of the performance itself, if it were not a discussion, which the author of *The Rambler* has very ably prevented me in; respect however to an authority so high in criticism must not prevent me from observing, that, when he says—*This is the tragedy which ignorance has admired and bigotry applauded*, he makes it meritorious in any future critic to attempt at following him over the ground he has trod, for the purpose of discovering what those blemishes are, which he has found out by superior sagacity, and which others have so palpably overlooked, as to merit the disgraceful character of *ignorance and bigotry*.

The principal, and in effect the only, objection, which he states, is that *the poem wants a middle, since nothing passes between the first act and the last, that either hastens or delays the death of Samson*. This demands examination: The death of Samson I need not describe; it is a sudden, momentary, event; what can hasten or delay it, but the will of the person, who by an exertion of miraculous strength was to bury himself under the ruins of a structure, in which his enemies were assembled? To determine that will, depends upon the impulse of his own spirit, or it may be upon the inspiration of Heaven: If there be any incidents in the body of the drama, which lead to this determination, and indicate an impulse, either natural or preternatural, such must be called leading incidents; and those leading incidents will constitute a middle, or, in more diffusive terms, the middle business of the drama. Manoah in his interview with Samson, which the author of the Rambler denominates the second act of the tragedy, tells him

“ This day the Philistines a popular feast

“ Here celebrate in Gaza, and proclaim

“ Great pomp, and sacrifice, and praises loud,

“ To Dagon, as their God —”

Here is information of a meeting of his enemies to celebrate their idolatrous triumphs; an incident of just provocation to the servant of the living God, an opportunity perhaps for vengeance, either human or divine; if it passes without notice from Samson, it is not to be styled an incident; if, on the contrary, he remarks upon it, it must be one—but Samson replies,

“ Dagon must stoop, and shall ere long receive

“ Such a discomfit, as shall quite despoil him

“ Of all these boasted trophies won on me,

“ And with confusion blank his worshippers.”

Who will say the expectation is not here prepared for some catastrophe, we know not what, but awful it must be, for it is Samson which denounces the downfall of the idol, it is God who inspires the denunciation; the crisis is important, for it is that which shall decide whether God or Dagon is to triumph, it is in the strongest sense of the expression—*dignus vindice nodus*—and therefore we may boldly pronounce *Deus interfit!*

That this interpretation meets the sense of the author, is clear from the remark of Manoah, who is made to say that *he receives these words as a prophecy*. Prophetick they are, and were meant to be by the poet, who, in this use of his sacred prophecy, imitates the heathen oracles, on which several of their dramatick plots are constructed, as might be shown by obvious examples. The interview with Manoah then is conducive to the catastrophe, and the drama is not in this scene devoid of incident.

Dalila next appears, and, if whatever tends to raise our interest in the leading character of the tragedy cannot rightly be called episodical, the introduction of this person ought not to be accounted such; for who but this person is the cause and origin of all the pathos and distress of the story? The dialogue of this scene is moral, affecting, and sublime; it is also strictly characteristic.

The next scene exhibits the tremendous giant Harapha, and the contrast thereby produced is amongst the beauties of the poem, and may of itself be termed an important incident: That it leads

to the catastrophe I think will not be disputed, and, if it is asked in what manner, the Chorus will supply us with an answer —

- “ He will directly to the Lords I fear,
 “ And with malicious counsel stir them up
 “ Some way or other further to afflict thee.”

Here is another prediction connected with the plot, and verified by its catastrophe; for Samson is commanded to come to the festival and entertain the revellers with some feats of strength: These commands he resists, but obeys an impulse of his mind by going afterwards, and thereby fulfils the prophetick declaration he had made to his father in the second act. What incident can show more management and address in the poet, than this of Samson’s refusing the summons of the idolaters and obeying the visitation of God’s Spirit.

And now I may confidently appeal to the judicious reader, whether the *Samson Agonistes* is so void of incident between the opening and conclusion as fairly to be pronounced *to want a middle*. Simple it is from first to last, simple perhaps to a degree of coldness in some of its parts, but to say that nothing passes between the first act and the last, *which hastens or delays the death of Samson*, is not correct, because the very incidents are to be found, which conduce to the catastrophe, and but for which it could not have come to pass.

The author of the Rambler professes to examine the *Samson Agonistes* according to the rule laid down by Aristotle for the disposition and perfection of a tragedy, and this rule he informs us is that it should have *a beginning, a middle, and an end*. And is this the mighty purpose for which the authority of Aristotle is appealed to? If it be thus the author of the Rambler has read *The Poetics*, and this be the best rule he can collect from that treatise, I am afraid he will find it too short a measure for the poet he is examining, or the critick he is quoting. Aristotle had said that *every whole hath not amplitude enough for the construction of a tragick fable; now by a whole*, (adds he in the way of illustration) *I mean that, which hath beginning, middle, and end*. This and no more is what he says upon beginning, middle, and end; and this, which the author of the Rambler conceives to be a rule for tragedy, turns out to be merely an explanation

of the word *whole*, which is only one term amongst many employed by the critick in his professed and complete definition of tragedy. I should add that Aristotle gives a further explanation of the terms, beginning, middle, and end, which the author of the Rambler hath turned into English, but in so doing he hath inexcusably turned them out of their original sense as well as language; as any curious critick may be convinced of, who compares them with Aristotle's words in the eighth chapter of the *Poeticks*.

Of the poetick diction of the *Samson Agonistes* I have already spoken in general; to particularize passages of striking beauty would draw me into too great length; at the same time, not to pass over so pleasing a part of my undertaking in absolute silence, I will give the following reply of Samson to the Chorus:

“ Wherever fountain or fresh current flow'd
 “ Against the eastern ray, translucent, pure
 “ With touch ethereal of Heaven's fiery rod,
 “ I drank, from the clear milky juice allaying
 “ Thirst, and refresh'd; nor envied them the grape,
 “ Whose heads that turbulent liquour fills with fumes.”

Of the character I may say in few words, that Samson possesses all the terrific majesty of *Prometheus chained*, the mysterious distress of *Œdipus*, and the pitiable wretchedness of *Philoctetes*. His properties, like those of the first, are something above human; his misfortunes, like those of the second, are derivable from the pleasure of Heaven and involved in oracles; his condition, like that of the last, is the most abject, which human nature can be reduced to from a state of dignity and splendour.

Of the catastrophe there remains only to remark, that it is of unparalleled majesty and terrour. CUMBERLAND, •

THE ARGUMENT.

Samson, made captive, blind, and now in the prison at Gaza, there to labour as in a common workhouse, on a festical day, in the general cessation from labour, comes forth into the open air, to a place nigh, somewhat retired, there to sit a while and bemoan his condition. Where he happens at length to be visited by certain friends and equals of his tribe, which make the Chorus, who seek to comfort him what they can; then by his old father Manoah, who endeavours the like, and withal tells him his purpose to procure his liberty by ransom; lastly, that this feast was proclaimed by the Philistines as a day of thanksgiving for their deliverance from the hands of Samson, which yet more troubles him. Manoah then departs to prosecute his endeavour with the Philistine lords for Samson's redemption; who in the mean while is visited by other persons; and lastly by a publick officer to require his coming to the feast before the lords and people, to play or show his strength in their presence; he at first refuses, dismissing the publick officer with absolute denial to come; at length, persuaded inwardly that this was from God, he yields to go along with him, who came now the second time with great threatenings to fetch him: The Chorus yet remaining on the place, Manoah returns full of joyful hope, to procure ere long his son's deliverance: in the midst of which discourse an Hebrew comes in haste, confusedly at first, and afterward more distinctly, relating the catastrophe, what Sampson had done to the Philistines, and by accident to himself; wherewith the tragedy ends.

THE PERSONS.

SAMSON.

MANOAH, *the Father of Samson.*

DALILA, *his Wife.*

HARAPHA *of Gath.*

Publick Officer.

Messenger.

Chorus of Danites.

The Scene before the Prison in Gaza.

SAMSON AGONISTES*.

Samson, [Attendant leading him.]

A Little onward lend thy guiding hand
To these dark steps, a little further on;
For yonder bank hath choice of sun or shade:
There I am wont to sit, when any chance
Relieves me from my task of servile toil, 5
Daily in the common prison else enjoin'd me,

* *Samson Agonistes*] That is, *Samson an actor*; *Samson* being represented in a play. Ἀγωνιστής, ludio, histrio, actor scenicus. NEWTON.

Ver. 1. *A little onward &c.*] Milton, after the example of the Greek tragedians, whom he professes to imitate, opens his drama with introducing one of its principal personages explaining the story upon which it is founded. THYER. *

Ibid. *A little onward lend thy guiding hand*

To these dark steps,] So Tiresias in Euripides, *Phœnissæ*,

v. 841.

Ἦγ' ἔτι παύροις, δέγατις, ὥς ΤΥΦΛΩ ΠΟΔΙ κ. τ. λ.

RICHARDSON.

Ver. 3. *For yonder bank*] The scene of this tragedy is much the same as that of Οἰδῆπος ἐπὶ Κολωνῷ in Sophocles, where blind Oedipus is conducted in like manner, and represented sitting upon a little hill near Athens: but yet I think there is scarcely a single thought the same in the two pieces, and I am sure the Greek tragedy can have no pretence to be esteemed better, but only because it is two thousand years older. NEWTON.

Of hornets arm'd, no sooner found alone, 20
 But rush upon me thronging, and present
 Times past, what once I was, and what am now.
 O, wherefore was my birth from Heaven foretold
 Twice by an Angel, who at last in fight
 Of both my parents all in flames ascended 25
 From off the altar, where an offering burn'd,
 As in a fiery column charioting
 His God-like presence, and from some great act
 Or benefit reveal'd to Abraham's race?
 Why was my breeding order'd and prescrib'd 30
 As of a person separate to God,
 Design'd for great exploits; if I must die

Ver. 22. ——— *what once I was, and what am now.*]

Par. Left, B. iv. 23.

———“ Now conscience wakes despair

“ That slumber'd, wakes the bitter memory

“ *Of what he was, what is*” ———

Ver. 24. *Twice by an Angel,*] Once to his mother, and
 * again to his father Manoah and his mother both; and the second
 time the Angel ascended in the flame of the altar, *Judges* xiii.
 3, 11, 20. NEWTON.

Ver. 27. *As in a fiery column charioting*] So Josephus says:
 τὰ δὲ, λαμψάντος πυρός, ἅμα τοῖς ἄρτοις ἐκαίετο· καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος ΔΙΑ
 ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙΝΟΥ ὣς ΠΕΡ ὈΧΗΜΑΤΟΣ ἀνίων εἰς οὐρανὸν αὐτοῖς φανερὸς
 ἦν. *Antiq. Jud.* lib. v. cap. 10.

Ver. 28. ——— and *from some great act*] Mr.
 Symphon says that the true reading is “ *as* from some great
 act:” but the poet would hardly say “ *As* in a fiery column &c.
as from some great act &c.” and therefore we may retain *and*,
 and *as* may be understood though not expressed. *And as from*
some great act &c. NEWTON.

Betray'd, captiv'd, and both my eyes put out,
 Made of my enemies the scorn and gaze ;
 To grind in brazen fetters under task 35
 With this Heaven-gifted strength? O glorious
 strength,
 Put to the labour of a beast, debas'd
 Lower than bond-slave! Promise was that I
 Should Israel from Philistian yoke deliver ; 39
 Ask for this great deliverer now, and find him
 Eyeless in Gaza at the mill with slaves,
 Himself in bonds under Philistian yoke :
 Yet stay, let me not rashly call in doubt
 Divine prediction ; what if all foretold 44
 Had been fulfill'd but through mine own default,
 Whom have I to complain of but myself?
 Who this high gift of strength committed to me,
 In what part lodg'd, how easily bereft me,
 Under the seal of silence could not keep,
 But weakly to a woman must reveal it, 50
 O'ercome with importunity and tears.
 O impotence of mind, in body strong!
 But what is strength without a double share

Ver. 33. *Betray'd*, *captiv'd*,] *Captiv'd* is accented on the
 last syllable here, and in v. 694, as by Spenser, *Faer. Qu.* ii.
 iv. 16.

" Thus when as Guyon Furor had *captiv'd*."

And by Fairfax, B. xix. st. 95.

" Free was Erminia, but *captiv'd* her heart."

NEWTON.

Ver. 53. *But what is strength without a double share*
Of wisdom? &c.] Ovid, *Met.* xiii. 363.

Of wisdom? vast, unwieldy, burdensome,
 Proudly secure, yet liable to fall 55
 By weakest subtleties, not made to rule,
 But to subserve where wisdom bears command!
 God, when he gave me strength, to show withal
 How slight the gift was, hung it in my hair.
 But peace, I must not quarrel with the will 60
 Of highest dispensation, which herein
 Haply had ends above my reach to know:
 Suffices that to me strength is my bane,
 And proves the source of all my miseries;
 So many, and so huge, that each apart 65
 Would ask a life to wail; but chief of all,
 O loss of fight, of thee I most complain!

“ Tu vires fine mente geris——

—————“ tu tantum corpore prodes,

“ Nos animo; quantôque ratem qui temperat &c.”

JORTIN.

And Horace, *Od.* III. iv. 65.

“ Vis confili experts mole ruit sua.” RICHARDSON.

Ver. 55. *Proudly secure, yet liable to fall*

By weakest subtleties,] Sophocles, *Ajax*, v. 1099.

Ἄλλ' ἀνδρᾶ χρηῖ, καὶ σῶμα γενήσῃ μέγα;

Δοκεῖν πεσεῖν αὖ, καὶ ἀπὸ μικρῶ κακῆ.

Ver. 58. ————— *to show withal*

How slight the gift was, hung it in my hair.] In

the character of Samson, as delineated in “*Patriarchæ, five Christi Servatoris Genealogia per Mundi Ætates traducta*, 12mo. Lond. 1657,” the same remark occurs:

“ At Martius ille spiritus capillis illigatur;

“ Ut scias, quàm caducum sit donum juvenile robur,

“ Cùm tenui admodùm de filo pendeat.”

Blind among enemies, O worse than chains,
 Dungeon, or beggary, or decrepit age !
 Light, the prime work of God, to me is extinct,
 And all her various objects of delight 71
 Annul'd, which might in part my grief have
 eas'd,
 Inferiour to the vilest now become
 Of man or worm ; the vilest here excel me ;
 They creep, yet see ; I, dark in light, expos'd 75
 To daily fraud, contempt, abuse, and wrong,
 Within doors, or without, still as a fool,
 In power of others, never in my own ;
 Scarce half I seem to live, dead more than half.

Ver. 69. ————— *or decrepit age !*] So it is printed in the first edition ; the later editors have omitted *or*, concluding I suppose that it made the verse a syllable too long.

NEWTON.

Tonson's edition of 1747 reads exactly the same as Milton's own edition.

Ver. 75. ————— *I, dark in light, expos'd*
To daily fraud, contempt, abuse, and wrong,
Within doors, or without, still as a fool,
In power of others, never in my own ;
Scarce half I seem to live, dead more than half.}

In these lines the poet seems to paint himself. The litigation of his will produced a collection of evidence relating to the testator, which renders the discovery of those long-forgotten papers peculiarly interesting ; they show very forcibly, and in new points of view, his domestick infelicity, and his amiable disposition. The tender and sublime poet, whose sensibility and sufferings were so great, appears to have been almost as unfortunate in his daughters as the Lear of Shakspeare. A servant declares in evidence, that her deceased master, a little before his last marriage, had lamented to her the ingratitude and cruelty of his children.

O dark, dark, dark, amid the blaze of noon, 80
 Irrecoverably dark, total eclipse
 Without all hope of day!
 O first created Beam, and thou great Word,
 " Let there be light, and light was over all ;"
 Why am I thus bereav'd thy prime decree ? 85
 The sun to me is dark
 And silent as the moon.

He complained that they combined to defraud him in the economy of his house, and fold several of his books in the basest manner. His feelings on such an outrage, both as a parent and a scholar, must have been singularly painful; perhaps they suggested to him these very pathetick lines. HAYLEY.

Ver. 80. *O dark, dark, dark, amid the blaze of noon,
 Irrecoverably dark,*] This is far more pathetick than the exclamation of Oedipus, which the poet perhaps had now in mind, *Oed. Tyr.* v. 1337.

Ἰὼ σκότα νῆφος ἡμῶν
 Ἀπώτροπον, ἐπιπλόμενον,
 Ἄφατον, ἀδάμασεν τε,
 Καὶ δυσούριον.

Ver. 87. *And silent as the moon,*] Thus the *silent of the night*, II *Hen.* VI. A. i. S. viii. is a classical expression, and means an interlunar night—*amica silentia lunæ*. So Pliny, " Inter omnes vero convenit, utilissime in coitu ejus sterni, quem diem alii *interlunni*, alii *silentis lunæ* appellant." Lib. xvi. cap. 39. In imitation of this language, Milton says,

" The sun to me is dark
 " And *silent* as the moon,
 " When she deserts the night,
 " Hid in her vacant *interlunar* cave."

WARBURTON.

Silens luna is the moon at or near the change, and in conjunction with the sun. Plin. i. Lib. xvi. cap. 39. The interlunar

When she deserts the night,
 Hid in her vacant interlunar cave.
 Since light so necessary is to life, 90
 And almost life itself, if it be true
 That light is in the soul,
 She all in every part; why was the fight
 To such a tender ball as the eye confin'd,
 So obvious and so easy to be quench'd? 95
 And not, as feeling, through all parts diffus'd,
 That she might look at will through every pore?
 Then had I not been thus exil'd from light,
 As in the land of darkness, yet in light,
 To live a life half dead, a living death, 100

cave is here called *vacant*, "quia luna ibi vacat opere et ministerio suo," because the moon is idle, and useless, and makes no return of light. MEADOWCOURT.

Dante expresses the absence of the sun, in the same manner as Milton describes that of the moon, *Inferno*, c. i.

"Mi ripingeva là, dove 'l sol tace."

See also the *Inferno*, c. v.

"I' venni in luogo d' ogni luce MUTO."

Ver. 100. *To live a life half dead, a living death,*] This phrase, *a living death*, which the poet also uses in *Par. Lost*, B. x. 788, appears to have been very common amongst our elder poets. Thus, in Sackville's *Induction*, of Sleep personified,

————— "as a *living death*,
 "So, dead alive, of life he drew the breath."

Again, in Drummond's *Poems*, part 2d. Edinb. 1616.

"O woefull Life! Life? No, but *living death*."

Again, in *Wily Beguiled*, 1623.

"My heart's wo makes this life a *living death*."

And buried ; but, O yet more miserable !
 Myself my sepulchre, a moving grave ;
 Buried, yet not exempt,
 By privilege of death and burial,
 From worst of other evils, pains and wrongs ; 105
 But made hereby obnoxious more
 To all the miseries of life,
 Life in captivity

Again, Beaumont and Fletcher's *Love's Progress*, A. v. S. i.

“ A life ? I style it false ; a *living death*.”

Shakspeare applies it to the power of a lady's eyes, *Rich.* III.
 A. i. S. ii.

———“ they kill me with a *living death*.”

So does Sylvester, *Du Bart.* 1621, p. 613.

“ Whoe euery glance darts me a *living death*.”

Daniel, in one of his *Sonnets*, applies it to Love ;

“ If this be Love, to live a *living death*,

“ Then do I love.”

This conceit, used by others also, may have been adopted from the Italian ; as Petrarch thus speaks of Love, *Sonet.* 102, parte prima.

“ O *viva morte*, o dilettofo male.”

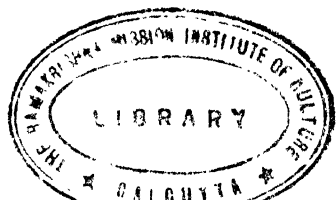
Ver. 101. *And buried* ;] In Donne's *Poems*, 1633, p. 9. is the same phrase, a “ *living buried man*.”

Ver. 102. *Myself my sepulchre, a moving grave* ;] The expression, “ a *living grave*,” is in Sidney's *Arcadia*, 13th edit. p. 352. The same phrase is in Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, 1621. p. 493. And in Sir Robert Howard's *Vestal Virgin*, 1665, is the phrase

———“ I seem nothing but a *walking grave*.”

So, in Henry More's *Song of the Soul*, part iii. p. 33. edit. 1642.

“ She surely deems him her *live-walking grave*.”



Among inhuman foes.

But who are these? for with joint pace I hear
The tread of many feet steering this way; 111
Perhaps my enemies, who come to stare
At my affliction, and perhaps to insult,
Their daily practice to afflict me more.

[Enter] *Chorus*.

Chor. This, this is he; softly a while, 115
Let us not break in upon him:
O change beyond report, thought, or belief!
See how he lies at random, carelessly diffus'd,

Ver. 111. — steering *this way*;] If this
be the right reading, the metaphor is extremely hard and abrupt.
A common man would have said “ *bearing this way*.”

WARBURTON.

Steering is the right reading. Thus, in the manuscript of
Comus, ver. 310.

“ Without sure *steerage* of well practiz'd feet.”

Ver. 112. *Perhaps my enemies who come to stare*
At my affliction, &c.] See the *Ajax* of Sophocles,
v. 79.

Οὐκ ἂν γέλωτος ἥδιστος εἰς ἐχθρὸς γελᾷ.

Again, where Ajax himself is the speaker, v. 368.

Ω μοι γέλωτος, οἶον ἐβρίσθην ἄρα. *

Ver. 118. — carelessly diffus'd,] This beautiful
application of the word *diffus'd* Milton has borrowed from the
Latins. So Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, III. iii. 7.

“ Publica me requies curarum fœnus habebat,
“ *Fusâque erant toto languida membra toro.*”

THYER.

Compare Spenser, *Faer. Qu.* ii. v. 32.

With languish'd head unpropt,
 As one past hope, abandon'd, 120
 And by himself given over;
 In slavish habit, ill-fitted weeds
 O'er-worn and foil'd;
 Or do my eyes misrepresent? Can this be he,
 That heroick, that renown'd, 125
 Irresistible Samson? whom unarm'd
 No strength of man, or fiercest wild beast, could
 withstand;
 Who tore the lion, as the lion tears the kid;
 Ran on embattled armies clad in iron;
 And, weaponless himself, 130
 Made arms ridiculous, useless the forgery
 Of brazen shield and spear, the hammer'd cuirass,
 Chalybean temper'd steel, and frock of mail

"There he him found all *carelessly displaid*,

"In secret shadow from the sunny ray."

But *diffus'd* is also a Grecism. See Euripides, *Heraclid.* v. 75.
 edit. Barnes.

"Ἰδετε τὸν γήροισα

Μᾶλλον ἐπὶ σιδήρῳ

ΧΥΜΕΝΟΝ.

Ver. 129. ———— *clad in iron*,] So, in Fairfax's
Tasso, B. viii. st. 75.*

"And Baldwin first well *clad in iron* hard."

See also Hor. *Od.* IV. xiv.

"Ut barbarorum Claudius *agmina*

"*Ferrata vasto diruit impetu.*"

Ver. 133. *Chalybean temper'd steel*,] That is, the best
 tempered steel by the *Chalybes*, who were famous among the
 ancients for their iron works. Virg. *Georg.* i. 58.

Adamantéan proof ?

But safest he who stood aloof, 135

When insupportably his foot advanc'd,

In scorn of their proud arms and warlike tools,

Spurn'd them to death by troops. The bold

Ascalonite

Fled from his lion ramp ; old warriors turn'd

Their plated backs under his heel ; 140

“ At Chalybes nudi ferrum ” —

The adjective should be pronounc'd *Chalybéan* with the third syllable long according to Heinſius's reading of that verse of Ovid. *Faſt.* iv. 405.

“ *Æs erat in pretio : Chalybeia massa latebat :* ”

but Milton makes it short by the same poetical liberty, with which he had before us'd *Ægean* for *Ægéan*, and *Thyestéan* for *Thyestéan*. NEWTON.

Ver. 134. Adamantéan proof ?] Dr. Johnson thinks the word *adamantean* peculiar to Milton. Perhaps he coined it from Ovid, *Met.* vii. 104.

“ *Ece adamantis Vulcanum naribus &c.* ”

Ver. 136. *When* insupportably *his foot* advanc'd,] For this nervous expression Milton was probably indebted to the following lines of Spenser, *Faery Queen*, i. vii. 11.

“ That when the knight he spied, he 'gan advance

“ With huge force, and insupportable main.” THYER.

Ver. 138. ————— *The bold Ascalonite*] The inhabitant of *Ascalon*, one of the five principal cities of the Philistines, mentioned I *Sam.* vi. 17. NEWTON.

Ver. 139. ————— *old warriors turn'd*

Their plated backs &c.] The deeds of valorous knights were now in Milton's mind. Artegall is thus described, “ *like a lion,* ”

“ Hewing and flashing shields and helmets bright,

“ And beating downe whatever nigh him came,

Or, groveling, foil'd their crested helmets in the
dust.

Then with what trivial weapon came to hand,
The jaw of a dead afs, his sword of bone,
A thousand fore-skins fell, the flower of Palestine,
In Ramath-lechi, famous to this day. 145

Then by main force pull'd up, and on his
shoulders bore

The gates of Azza, post, and maffy bar,
Up to the hill by Hebron, feat of giants old,
No journey of a sabbath-day, and loaded so;
Like whom the Gentiles feign to bear up Heaven.

“ That every one 'gan shun his dreadful fight,

“ No lessè than Death &c.” *Faer. Qu.* iv. iv. 41.

See a similar account of Marinell, *Faer. Qu.* v. iii. 8. Compare
also *The Warres of Cyrus*, 1594.

“ Is this the hand that plighted faith to me ?

“ The hand, that aye hath manag'd kingly armes,

“ And brought whole troops of mighty warriors down.”

Ver. 145. *In Ramath-lechi, famous to this day.*] *Judges*
xv. 17. “ He cast away the jaw-bone out of his hand, and
called that place *Ramath-lechi*, that is, *the lifting up of the jaw-*
bone, or *casting away of the jaw-bone*, as it is rendered in the
margin of our Bibles. NEWTON.

Ver. 147. *The gates of Azza,*] Another name for *Gaza*.
Sandys, speaking of this city, says, “ *Gaza* or *Aza* signifieth
strong: In the Persian language, *a treasury*.” *Travels*, 1615,
p. 149.

Ver. 148. ————— *Hebron, feat of giants old,*] For
Hebron was the city of Arba, the father of Anak, and the feat
of the Anakims, *Job.* xv. 13, 14. And the Anakims were
giants, which come of the giants, *Numb.* xiii. 33. NEWTON.

Which shall I first bewail, 151
 Thy bondage or lost fight,
 Prison within prison
 Inseparably dark?
 Thou art become (O worst imprisonment!) 155
 The dungeon of thyself; thy soul,
 (Which men enjoying fight oft without cause
 complain)
 Imprison'd now indeed,
 In real darkness of the body dwells,
 Shut up from outward light 160
 To incorporate with gloomy night;
 For inward light alas!
 Puts forth no visual beam.

Ver. 156. *The dungeon of thyself;*] See note on *Comus*,
 v. 385.

Ver. 157. ——— *oft without cause complain*)] So
 Milton himself corrected it, but all the editions continue the old
 erratum *complain'd*. NEWTON.

Tonson's edition of 1747 corrected the error, before doctor
 Newton.

Ver. 158. *Imprison'd now indeed,*
In real darkness of the body dwells,] Perhaps an
 allusion to *Matt. vi. 23*. "If the light that is in thee be darkness,
 how great is that darkness!" So, in *Comus*, "he, that hides a
 dark soul and foul thoughts,

"Benighted walks under the mid-day sun,

"Himself is his own dungeon."

Ver. 162. *For inward light alas!*

Puts forth no visual beam.] The expression is
 fine, and means the *ray of light*, which occasions *vision*. Pope
 has borrowed the expression in one of his juvenile poems,

O mirrour of our fickle state,
 Since man on earth unparallel'd ! 165
 The rarer thy example stands,
 By how much from the top of wonderous glory,
 Strongest of mortal men,
 To lowest pitch of abject fortune thou art fallen.
 For him I reckon not in high estate 170
 Whom long descent of birth,
 Or the sphere of fortune, raises ;
 But thee whose strength, while virtue was her
 mate,
 Might have subdued the earth,
 Universally crown'd with highest praises. 175
Samf. I hear the sound of words ; their sense
 the air

“ He from thick films shall purge the *visual ray*,
 “ And on the sightless eye-ball pour the day.”

Either he mistook his original, and supposed Milton meant by *visual ray* the *fight*, or at least thought himself at liberty to use it in that highly figurative sense. See what is said on the passage in my edition of Pope's works. WARBURTON.

Ver. 164. *O mirrour of our fickle state, &c.*] There is a fine resemblance in the remainder of these pathetick reflections to those of the Chorus, on the fate of *Ædipus Tyrannus*, in the play of that name by Sophocles, v. 1211.

ᾠ γυναι̃ βροτῶν, κ. τ. λ.

Ver. 171. — *long descent of birth,*] *Juv. Sat. viii. i.*

—————“ *quid prodest, Pontice, longo*
 “ *Sanguine censeſi ?*”

Ver. 172. *Or the sphere of fortune,*] Fortune is painted on a globe, which by her influence is in a perpetual rotation on its axis. WARBURTON.

Diffolves unjointed ere it reach my ear.

Chor. He speaks, let us draw nigh. Match-
less in might,

The glory late of Israel, now the grief;

We come, thy friends and neighbours not un-
known, 180

From Eshtaol and Zora's fruitful vale,

To visit or bewail thee; or, if better,

Ver. 178. *He speaks,*] We have followed Milton's own edition: Most of the others have it "*He spake.*" NEWTON.

Ver. 179. *The glory late of Israel, now the grief;*] The turn of the expression resembles the following in P. Fletcher's *Pisc. Eclogues*, 1633, p. 27.

"The well known fisher-boy—

"Which from the Muses' spring, and churlish Chame,

"Was fled; *his glory late, but now his shame* &c."

Ver. 181. *From Eshtaol and Zora's fruitful vale,*] These were two towns of the tribe of Dan, *Josh.* xix. 41: the latter the birth-place of Samson, *Judg.* xiii. 2: and they were near one another. "*And the Spirit of the Lord began to move him at times in the camp of Dan between Zorah and Eshtaol,*" *Judg.* xiii. 25. And they were both situated *in the valley*, *Josh.* xv. 33: and therefore the poet with great exactness says *Eshtaol and Zora's fruitful vale*. NEWTON.

Ver. 182. *To visit or bewail thee,*] The poet dictated

"To visit and bewail thee;"

The purpose of their visit was to *bewail him*; or, *if better*, (that is if they found it more proper) to *advise* or *comfort* him, "*Veniebat autem ad Eumenem utrumque genus hominum, et qui propter odium fructum oculis ex ejus casu capere vellent, [See above ver. 112. to stare at my affliction] et qui propter veterem amicitiam colloqui consolarique cuperent.*" *Corn. Nepos in vita Eumenis.* CALTON,

Counfel or confolation we may bring,
Salve to thy fores; apt words have power to fwage

Ver. 184. *Salve to thy fores*;] This expreffion often occurs in our elder poetry. Thus in *The Testament of John Lydgate* &c. bl. 1. no date, emprinted by Pynfon :

“ Mckely with Davyd / have mercy vpon me
“ *Salve* all my *foores* / that they nat cancred be.”

Again, in the *Paradiſe of Daintie Deuiſes*, &c. fol. 31. b.

“ Of troubled mynds in every *fore*, fwete Muſicke hath a
ſalue in ſtore.”

Again, in Harington’s *Orl. Fur.* 1607, B. xxv. ft. 36.

“ But nought could *ſalue* that *fore*, nor fwage her woes.”

Thus alſo in Sidney’s *Arcadia*, 13th edit. p. 27. “ But no outward cheriſhing could *ſalue* the inward *fore* of her minde.” Spenſer often uſes the phraſe. See *Faer. Qu.* iii. ii. 36, v. vii. 38, and particularly vi. vi. 5.

“ Give *ſalves* to every *fore*, but *counſell* to the mind.”

Ibid. ——— apt words have power to fwage &c.] Alluding to theſe lines in *Æſchylus, Prom. Vinc.* v. 377.

Οὐκ ἐν Περὸ μὲν τῷ το γινώσκεις, δὲ
Ὀργῆς νοσήσης εἰς τὸν ἱατρὸν λόγους.

Or to this paſſage in Menander.

Δόγῳ γὰρ ἐν λυπῆς φαρμακὸν μόνον. THYER.

Or perhaps to Horace, *Epiſt.* I. i. 34.

“ Sunt verba et voces, quibus hunc lenire dolorem

“ Poſſis, et magnam morbi deponere partem.” NEWTON.

Or to the figurative language of Spenſer, *Faer. Qu.* i. x. 24, where Patience, to the “ *ſoul-diſeaſed* knight, applies relief of ſalves and medicines,

“ And thereto added words of wondrous might,

“ By which to eaſe him he recured brief,

“ And much *affwag’d* the paſſion of his plight.”

See alſo *Faer. Qu.* ii. viii. 26.

The tumours of a troubled mind, 185
 And are as balm to fester'd wounds.

Samf. Your coming, Friends, revives me; for
 I learn

Now of my own experience, not by talk,
 How counterfeit a coin they are who friends
 Bear in their superscription, (of the most 190
 I would be understood;) in prosperous days
 They swarm, but in adverse withdraw their head,
 Not to be found, though sought. Ye see, O
 Friends,

How many evils have enclos'd me round;
 Yet that which was the worst now least afflicts
 me, 195

Blindness; for had I fight, confus'd with shame,
 How could I once look up, or heave the head,
 Who, like a foolish pilot, have shipwreck'd
 My vessel trusted to me from above,
 Gloriously rigg'd; and for a word, a tear, 200
 Fool! have divulg'd the secret gift of God
 To a deceitful woman? tell me, Friends,

Ver. 195. *Yet that which was the worst now least afflicts me,*]
 There is no inconsistency in this with what he had said before
 ver. 66.

—————"but chief of all,
 "O loss of sight, of thee I most complain."

When he was by himself, he considered his blindness as the *worst*
 of evils; but *now*, upon his friends coming in and seeing him in
 this wretched condition, it *least afflicts me*, says he; as being
 some cover to his shame and confusion. NEWTON.

Am I not sung and proverb'd for a fool
 In every street? do they not say, how well
 Are come upon him his deserts? yet why? 205
 Immeasurable strength they might behold
 In me, of wisdom nothing more than mean;
 This with the other should, at least, have pair'd,
 These two, proportion'd ill, drove me transverse.

Chor. Tax not divine disposal; wisest men 210
 Have err'd, and by bad women been deceiv'd;
 And shall again, pretend they ne'er so wise.
 Deject not then so overmuch thyself,
 Who hast of sorrow thy full load besides:
 Yet truth to say, I oft have heard men wonder 215
 Why thou shouldst wed Philistian women rather

Ver. 203. *Am I not sung and proverb'd for a fool
 In every street?*] “And now I am their song,
 yea I am their *by-word*,” Job, xxx. 9. See also *Psalms* lxix.
 11, 12.

Ver. 210. ————— *wisest men*
Have err'd, &c.] He may allude to Solomon;
 or to the following passage in *I Esdras* iv. 27. “Many also
 have perished, have *erred* and sinned *for women*.” But the poet
 seems to have been fond of asserting, that *wisest* men have *thus*
 erred. Thus at v. 759.

“The *wisest* and *best* men, full oft *beguil'd* &c.”

Again, v. 1034.

“Whate’er it be to *wisest men* and *best* &c.”

And in his *Tetrachordon*, speaking of marriage-choices, he says
 “The *best* and *wisest* men, amidst the sincere and most cordial
 designs of their hearts, *do daily err* in choosing.”

Ver. 216. ————— *Philistian women rather*] So it is
 printed in Milton’s own edition; and *woman* is a mistake of the

Than of thine own tribe fairer, or as fair,
At least of thy own nation, and as noble.

Samf. The first I saw at Timna, and she
pleas'd

Me, not my parents, that I sought to wed 220
The daughter of an infidel: They knew not
That what I motion'd was of God; I knew
From intimate impulse, and therefore urg'd
The marriage on; that by occasion hence
I might begin Israel's deliverance, 225
The work to which I was divinely call'd.
She proving false, the next I took to wife
(O that I never had! fond wish too late,)
Was in the vale of Sorec, Dalila,

other editions; for more than one are mentioned afterwards.
The first I saw at Timna, ver. 219. *The next I took to wife*,
ver. 227. NEWTON.

The error of *woman* is corrected in Tonson's edition of 1747.

Ver. 219. *The first I saw at Timna*,] Judges xiv. 1.

NEWTON.

Ver. 222. *That what I motion'd was of God*;] It was
printed *mention'd*, which is sense indeed, but Milton himself in
the table of Errata substituted *motion'd*, which is better; but the
first error hath still prevailed in all the editions. NEWTON.

Motion'd is more poetical; and thus Adam to Eve, *Par. Lost*,
B. ix. 229.

"Well hast thou *motion'd*, well thy thoughts compar'd,

"How we might best fulfil the work &c."

I observe also that *motion'd* is the reading in Tonson's edition of
1747.

Ver. 229. *Was in the vale of Sorec*,] Judges xvi. 4.

NEWTON.

That specious monster, my accomplish'd snare.
I thought it lawful from my former act, 231
And the same end ; still watching to oppress
Israel's oppressours : of what now I suffer
She was not the prime cause, but I myself,
Who, vanquish'd with a peal of words, (O
weakness !) 235
Gave up my fort of silence to a woman.

Chor. In seeking just occasion to provoke
The Philistine, thy country's enemy,
Thou never wast amiss, I bear thee witness :
Yet Israël still serves with all his sons. 240
Samf. That fault I take not on me, but transfer

Ver. 230. ————— *my accomplish'd snare.*] There seems to be a quibble in the use of this epithet. WARBURTON.

Ver. 235. *Who, vanquish'd with a peal of words,
Gave up my fort &c.*] This allusion to modern artillery, in the mouth of Samson, may appear no less objectionable than his references to the Grecian mythology. But the truth is, the poet was now thinking of his beloved Shakspeare. See the note on v. 404, *Tongue-batteries*.

Ver. 241. *That fault &c.*] Milton certainly intended to reproach his countrymen indirectly, and as plainly as he dared, with the Restoration of Charles II, (which he accounted the restoration of slavery,) and with the execution of the Regicides. He pursues the same subject again v. 678 to v. 700. I wonder how the Licensers of those days let it pass. JORTIN.

It is the more to be wondered at, as some passages in his *History of England*, containing indirect remarks on his country, were struck out by the Licensor, in the same year. They were afterwards printed in a quarto pamphlet, in 1681; and in the edition of his *Prose-Works* in 1738 are admitted into their place in the third book of his History.

On Israel's governours and heads of tribes,
Who, seeing those great acts which God had
done

Singly by me against their conquerours,
Acknowledg'd not, or not at all consider'd, 245
Deliverance offer'd : I on the other side
Us'd no ambition to commend my deeds ;
The deeds themselves, though mute, spoke loud
the doer :

But they persisted deaf, and would not seem 249
To count them things worth notice, till at length
Their lords the Philistines with gather'd powers
Enter'd Judea seeking me, who then
Safe to the rock of Etham was retir'd ;
Not flying, but fore-casting in what place
To set upon them, what advantag'd best : 255
Mean while the men of Judah, to prevent
The harrafs of their land, beset me round ;
I willingly on some conditions came
Into their hands, and they as gladly yield me
To the uncircumcis'd a welcome prey, 260
Bound with two cords ; but cords to me were
threads
Touch'd with the flame : on their whole host I
flew

Ver. 247. *Us'd no ambition*] *Going about with studiousness
and affectation to gain praise*, as Mr. Richardson says ; alluding
to the origin of the word in Latin. NEWTON.

Ver. 253. *Safe to the rock of Etham &c.*] Judges xv. 8.
NEWTON.

Unarm'd, and with a trivial weapon fell'd
 Their choicest youth; they only liv'd who fled.
 Had Judah that day join'd, or one whole tribe, 265
 They had by this possess'd the towers of Gath,
 And lorded over them whom they now serve:
 But what more oft, in nations grown corrupt,
 And by their vices brought to servitude,
 Than to love bondage more than liberty, 270
 Bondage with ease than strenuous liberty;
 And to despise, or envy, or suspect
 Whom God hath of his special favour rais'd
 As their deliverer? if he aught begin,
 How frequent to desert him, and at last 275
 To heap ingratitude on worthiest deeds?

Chor. Thy words to my remembrance bring
 How Succoth and the fort of Penuel

Ver. 268. *But what more oft, in nations grown corrupt, &c.*] Here Mr. Thyer has anticipated me, by observing that Milton is very uniform, as well as just, in his notions of liberty, always attributing the loss of it to vice and corruption of morals: but in this passage he very probably intended also a secret satire upon the English nation, which, according to his republican politicks, had, by restoring the king, chosen *bondage with ease* rather than *strenuous liberty*. And let me add, that the sentiment is very like that of Æmilius Lepidus the consul in his oration to the Roman people against Sulla, preserved among the fragments of Sallust—"Annuite legibus impositis; accipite otium cum servitio;"—but for myself—"potior visa est periculosa libertas quieto servitio." NEWTON.

Ver. 278. *How Succoth and the fort of Penuel &c.*] The men of Succoth, and of the tower of Penuel, refused to give loaves of bread to Gideon and his three hundred men pursuing

Their great deliverer contemn'd,
 The matchless Gideon, in pursuit 280
 Of Madian and her vanquish'd kings :
 And how ingrateful Ephraim
 Had dealt with Jephtha, who by argument,
 Not worse than by his shield and spear,
 Defended Israel from the Ammonite, 285
 Had not his prowess quell'd their pride
 In that fore battle, when so many died
 Without reprieve, adjudg'd to death,
 For want of well pronouncing Shibboleth.

Sanf. Of such examples add me to the roll;
 Me easily indeed mine may neglect, 291
 But God's propos'd deliverance not so.

Chor. Just are the ways of God,
 And justifiable to Men ;
 Unless there be, who think not God at all : 295
 If any be, they walk obscure ;

after Zebah and Zalmunna, kings of Midian. See *Judg.* viii.
 4—9. NEWTON.

Ver. 282. *And how ingrateful Ephraim &c.*] Jephthah sub-
 dued the children of Ammon ; and he is said to have *defended*
Israel by argument not worse than by arms on account of the
 message which he sent unto the king of the children of Ammon.
Judg. xi. 15—27. For his victory over the Ammonites the
 Ephraimites envied and quarrelled with him ; and threatened to
 burn his house with fire : but Jephthah and the men of Gilead
 smote Ephraim, and took the passages of Jordan before the
 Ephraimites, and there slew those of them who could not rightly
 pronounce the word *Shibboleth* ; and there fell at that time two
 and forty thousand of them. See *Judg.* xii. 1—6.

NEWTON.

For of fuch doctrine never was there fchool,
 But the heart of the fool,
 And no man therein doctör but himfelf. 299

Yet more there be, who doubt his ways not juft,
 As to his own edicts found contradicting,
 Then give the reins to wandering thought,
 Regardlefs of his glory's diminution;
 Till, by their own perplexities involv'd,
 They ravel more, ftill lefs refolv'd, 305
 But never find felf-fatisfying folution.

As if they would confine the Interminable,
 And tie him to his own prefcript,
 Who made our laws to bind us, not himfelf,
 And hath full right to exempt 310

Ver. 298. *But the heart of the fool,*] Alluding to *Pfal.* xiv. 1.
 And the fentiment is not very unlike that of a celebrated divine.
 “*The fool hath faid in his heart, There is no God: and who but*
a fool would have faid fo?” NEWTON.

Ver. 299. *And no man therein doctör but himfelf.*] There is
 fomething rather too quaint and fanciful in this conceit, and it
 appears the worfe, as this fpeech of the Chorus is of fo ferious a
 nature, and filled with fo many deep and folemn truths.

THYER.

Ver. 303. ————— *his glory's diminution;*] This ex-
 preffion is ftrong, as anciently underftood. *Cic. de Orat.* ii. 39.
 “*Majeftatem* pop. Rom. *minuere*” is the fame as “*crimen læfæ*
majeftatis.” And *Corn. Nepos, Ages.* iv. “*Religionem minuere*”
 is “*violare.*” RICHARDSON.

Ver. 307. ————— *the Interminable,*] Him,
 whom *no bound or limit* can confine; a word finely expreffing the
 immenſity of God. Chaucer uſes it for *boundlefs*: “*Eternite*
then is perfite poſſeſſion and all together of life interminable.”
Boeth. lib. v. prof. vi.

Whom so it pleases him by choice
 From national obstriction, without taint
 Of sin, or legal debt ;
 For with his own laws he can best dispense.

He would not else, who never wanted means,
 Nor in respect of the enemy just cause, 316
 To set his people free,
 Have prompted this heroick Nazarite,
 Against his vow of strictest purity,
 To seek in marriage that fallacious bride, 320
 Unclean, unchaste.

Down, reason, then ; at least vain reasonings,
 down ;

Though reason here aver,
 That moral verdict quits her of unclean :
 Unchaste was subsequent, her stain not his. 325
 But see here comes thy reverend Sire

Ver. 319. ——— *vow of strictest purity,*] Not a vow of celibacy, but of strictest purity from Mosaic and legal uncleanness. WARBURTON.

Ver. 324. *That moral verdict quits her of unclean :*] That is, By the law of nature a Philistine woman was not unclean, yet the law of Moses held her to be so. I don't know why the poet thought fit to make his hero scepticize on a point, as irreconcilable to reason, which may be very well accounted for by the best rules of human prudence and policy. The institution of Moses was to keep the Jewish people distinct and separate from the nations. This the lawgiver effected by a vast variety of means : one of which was to hold all other nations under a legal *impurity* ; the best means of preventing intermarriages with them.

WARBURTON.

Ver. 326. ——— *reverend Sire*] An expression,

With careful step, locks white as down,
Old Manoah : Advise

Forthwith how thou ought'st to receive him.

Samf. Ay me ! another inward grief, awak'd
With mention of that name, renews the assault. 331

[Enter] *Manoah*.

Man. Brethren and men of Dan, for such ye
seem,

Though in this uncouth place ; if old respect,
As I suppose, towards your once gloried friend,
My son, now captive, hither hath inform'd 335
Your younger feet, while mine cast back with age
Came lagging after ; say if he be here.

repeated, ver. 1456 ; and used also in *Par. Lost*, B. xi. 719 ;
brought from his *Lycidas* :

“ Next Camus, *reverend fire*, went footing slow.”

Thus also Cowley, *Davidis*, B. III. of the high priest :

“ Much more the *reverend fire* prepar'd to say.”

Pope, in his first *Moral Essay*, v. 232, and Parnell, in his *Hermis*,
v. 36, have made use of this expression.

Ver. 330. *Ay me ! another inward grief, awak'd*

With mention of that name, renews the assault.] So

Philoctetes, in the play of that name by Sophocles, to the Chorus,
v. 1185.

Πάλιν πάλιν παλαιόν

“ Ἀλγὴν ὑπὲρμασας μὲν

ἴδλωρε τῶν περὶν ἐντόπων.

Ver. 336. ——— *while mine cast back with age*] This
is very artfully and properly introduced, to account for the Chorus
coming to Samson before Manoah ; for it is not to be supposed
that any of his friends should be more concerned for his welfare,
or more desirous to visit him than his father. NEWTON.

Chor. As signal now in low dejected state,
As erst in highest, behold him where he lies.

Man. O miserable change! is this the man,
That invincible Samson, far renown'd, 341
The dread of Israel's foes, who with a strength
Equivalent to Angels walk'd their streets,
None offering fight; who single combatant
Duell'd their armies rank'd in proud array, 345
Himself an army, now unequal match
To save himself against a coward arm'd
At one spear's length. O ever-failing trust
In mortal strength! and oh! what not in man
Deceivable and vain? Nay, what thing good 350
Pray'd for, but often proves our woe, our bane?
I pray'd for children, and thought barrenness
In wedlock a reproach; I gain'd a son,

Ver. 340. *O miserable change! &c.*] This speech of Manoah's is, in my opinion, very beautiful in its kind. The thoughts are exactly such as one may suppose would occur to the mind of the old man, and are expressed with an earnestness and impatience very well suited to that anguish of mind he must be in, at the sight of his son under such miserable afflicted circumstances. It is not at all unbecoming the pious grave character of Manoah, to represent him, as Milton does, even complaining and murmuring at this disposition of Heaven, in the first bitterness of his soul. Such sudden starts of infirmity are ascribed to some of the greatest personages in Scripture, and it is agreeable to that well known maxim, that religion may regulate, but can never eradicate, natural passions and affections. *TYLER.*

Ver. 352. *I pray'd for children, and thought barrenness
In wedlock a reproach;*] Some lines from a fragment of Euripides may be introduced here. They are very beautiful, and not impertinent. See edit. Barnes, p. 443.

And such a son as all men hail'd me happy ;—
 Who would be now a father in my stead ? 355
 O wherefore did God grant me my request,
 And as a blessing with such pomp adorn'd ?
 Why are his gifts desirable, to tempt
 Our earnest prayers, then, given with solemn hand
 As graces, draw a scorpion's tail behind ? 360

Γύναι, φίλον μὲν φείγῃς ἥλιος τόδε.
 Καλὸν δὲ πόσις χεῖρ' ἰδεῖν εὐήμερον,
 Γῆτ' ἱρινὸν θάλλεσσα, πλεῖστον θ' ὕδαρ
 Πολλῶν τ' ἑπαινοῖ ἐγὼ μοι λέξαι καλῶν.
 Ἄλλ' ἐδὲν ἔττω λαμπρόν, οὐδ' ἰδεῖν καλόν,
 Ὡς τοῖς ἀπαισι, καὶ πόθῳ δεδηγμένοις,
 Παιδῶν νοσίων ἐν δόμοις ἰδεῖν φάει. CALTON.

Ver. 354. *And such a son as &c.*] It is very hard that the editors of Milton have never taken the pains to correct the errors of the first edition, which he had himself corrected. This verse at first was printed imperfect, and it has been followed in all the editions,

“ Such a son as all men hail'd me happy.”

And was wanting in the beginning,

“ *And* such a son &c.

So Milton himself corrected it, and so Mr. Jortin and Mr. Symphon conjectured it should be read. And, at the time of writing this, in all probability the author remembered the happy father in Terence, *Andria* i. i. 69.

“ Cum id mihi placebat, tum uno ore omnes omnia

“ Bona dicere, et laudare fortunas meas,

“ Qui gnatum haberem tali ingenio præditum.”

NEWTON.

Tonson's edition of 1747 had rectified the mistake, of which Dr. Newton afterwards complains; and it reads accordingly

“ *And* such a son &c.”

Ver. 359. ————— *then, given with solemn hand*

As graces, draw a scorpion's tail behind ?] He has

For this did the Angel twice descend ? for this
 Ordain'd thy nurture holy, as of a plant
 Select, and sacred, glorious for a while,
 The miracle of men ; then in an hour
 Ensnar'd, assaulted, overcome, led bound, 365
 Thy foes' derision, captive, poor, and blind,
 Into a dungeon thrust, to work with slaves ?
 Alas ! methinks whom God hath chosen once
 To worthiest deeds, if he through frailty err,
 He should not so o'erwhelm, and as a thrall 370
 Subject him to so foul indignities,
 Be it but for honour's sake of former deeds.

Samf. Appoint not heavenly disposition, Father ;
 Nothing of all these evils hath befall'n me
 But justly ; I myself have brought them on, 375
 Sole author I, sole cause : If aught seem vile,
 As vile hath been my folly, who have profan'd
 The mystery of God given me under pledge
 Of vow, and have betray'd it to a woman,

raised this beautiful imagery on the following text, *Luke xi. 12.*
 " If a son shall ask of his father an egg, will he *offer him a*
scorpion ?" He was not always so happy. *WARBURTON.*

He has been peculiarly happy in the use of this imagery. Thus
 again, " A most deadly and *scorpion-like gift*," *Prose-W.* vol. i.
 p. 304. ed. 1698. Again, in his *Tetrachordon* : " It is man's
 perverse cooking who hath turned this *bounty of God into a*
scorpion." *ibid.* p. 335.

Ver. 373. *Appoint*] That is, *arraign, summon to answer.*

WARBURTON.

Perhaps *limit*, or *direct* : or rather, according to an old ac-
 ceptation of the word, *blame, lay the fault upon.* See *Barret's*
Alvearie, 1580. *Appoynt*, col. 2. No. 497.

A Canaanite, my faithless enemy. 380
 This well I knew, nor was at all surpris'd,
 But warn'd by oft experience: Did not she
 Of Timna first betray me, and reveal
 The secret wrested from me in her highth
 Of nuptial love profess'd, carrying it straight 385
 To them who had corrupted her, my spies,
 And rivals? In this other was there found
 More faith, who also in her prime of love,
 Spousal embraces, vitiated with gold,
 Though offer'd only, by the scent conceiv'd 390
 Her spurious first-born, treason against me?
 Thrice she assay'd with flattering prayers and
 sighs,
 And amorous reproaches, to win from me
 My capital secret, in what part my strength
 Lay stor'd, in what part summ'd, that she might
 know; 395
 Thrice I deluded her, and turn'd to sport
 Her importunity, each time perceiving
 How openly, and with what impudence
 She purpos'd to betray me, and (which was worse
 Than undissembled hate) with what contempt 400
 She fought to make me traitor to myself;

Ver. 391. ———— *treason against me?*] By our laws called petty treason. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 392. *Thrice she assay'd &c.*] So, in *Par. Lost*, B. i. 619.

“ Thrice he assay'd &c.” WARTON.

Ver. 401. *She fought*] So it is in Milton's own edition; in most of the others “ *She thought*.” NEWTON.

Yet the fourth time, when, mustering all her
 wiles,
 With blandish'd parlies, feminine assaults,
 Tongue-batteries, she surceas'd not, day nor night,
 To storm me over-watch'd, and wearied out, 405
 At times when men seek most repose and rest,
 I yielded, and unlock'd her all my heart,
 Who, with a grain of manhood well resolv'd,
 Might easily have shook off all her snares :
 But foul effeminacy held me yok'd 410

Ver. 402. ————— *mustering all her wiles,*] So, in his *Prose-Works*, vol. i. edit. Amst. 1698. p. 196. "Like a crafty adulteress, she forgot not all her *smooth looks, and enticing words.*"

Josephus relates, that the attacks of Dalila were artfully made
παρὰ πόνον καὶ τοιαύτην συνουσίαν.

Ver. 403. *With blandish'd parlies,*] Dr. Johnson says he never met with this word before. It is common in our old writers. Thus in Chaucer, *Boethius* lib. ii. prof. prim. "For thou wert wont to hurtelen and dispisen her with many words, whan she was *blandishyng* and present &c." Again, in Lewis's *Translations of the Bible*, p. 13. "In this psalme he spekith of Crist and his folewris *blandishyng* to us." So, in Drayton's *Polyolbion*, S. xiii. p. 220. edit. 1622. "And how she, *blan-dishyng*, by Dunfmore drives along."

Ver. 404. *Tongue-batteries,*] This phrase was probably suggested by Shakspeare, *K. Hen. VI.* P. i. A. iii. S. iii.

"I am *vanquish'd*; these haughty words of hers

"Have *batter'd* me like roaring cannon-shot, &c."

That this passage was in the poet's mind, may be further proved, I think, from ver. 235.

"Who, *vanquish'd* with a peal of words,

"Gave up my *fort*,"

Her bond-slave ; O indignity, O blot
 To honour and religion ! servile mind
 Rewarded well with servile punishment !
 The base degree to which I now am fall'n,
 These rags, this grinding is not yet so base 415
 As was my former servitude, ignoble,
 Unmanly, ignominious, infamous,
 True slavery, and that blindness worse than this,
 That saw not how degenerately I serv'd.

Man. I cannot praise thy marriage-choices,
 Son, 420

Rather approv'd them not ; but thou didst plead
 Divine impulsion prompting how thou might'st
 Find some occasion to infect our foes.

I state not that ; this I am sure, our foes
 Found soon occasion thereby to make thee 425
 Their captive, and their triumph ; thou the sooner
 Temptation found'st, or over-potent charms,
 To violate the sacred trust of silence
 Deposited within thee ; which to have kept
 Tacit, was in thy power : true ; and thou bear'st
 Enough, and more, the burden of that fault ; 431

Ver. 411. ————— *O indignity, O blot &c.*] Nothing could give the reader a better idea of a great and heroick spirit in the circumstances of Samson, than this sudden gust of indignation and passionate self-reproach upon the mentioning of his weakness. Besides, there is something vastly grand and noble in his reflection upon his present condition on this occasion,

“ These rags, this grinding is not yet so base &c.”

THYER.



Bitterly haft thou paid, and still art paying,
 That rigid ſcore. A worſe thing yet remains ;
 This day the Philiftines a popular feaſt
 Here celebrate in Gaza ; and proclaim 435
 Great pomp, and ſacrifice, and praises loud,
 To Dagon, as their God who hath deliver'd
 Thee, Samſon, bound and blind into their hands,
 Them out of thine, who ſlew't them many a ſlain.
 So Dagon ſhall be magnified, and God, 440
 Beſides whom is no God, compar'd with idols,
 Diſglorified, blaſphem'd, and had in ſcorn
 By the idolatrous rout amidſt their wine ;
 Which to have come to paſs by means of thee,
 Samſon, of all thy ſufferings think the heaviſt,
 Of all reproach the moſt with ſhame that ever 446
 Could have befall'n thee and thy father's houſe.

Samſ. Father, I do acknowledge and confeſs
 That I this honour, I this pomp, have brought
 To Dagon, and advanc'd his praises high 450
 Among the Heathen round ; to God have brought
 Diſhonour, obloquy, and op'd the mouths
 Of idolifts, and atheiſts ; have brought ſcandal

Ver. 434. *This day the Philiftines a popular feaſt &c.*] *Judges*
xvi. 23. " Then the lords of the Philiftines gathered them
 together, for to offer a great ſacrifice unto Dagon their God, and
 to rejoice ; for they ſaid, *Our God hath delivered Samſon our*
enemy into our hand, &c." This incident the poet has finely im-
 proved, and with great judgement he has put this reproach of
 Samſon into the mouth of his father, rather than any other of
 the *dramatis perſonæ*. NEWTON.

To Israel, diffidence of God, and doubt
 In feeble hearts, propense enough before 455
 To waver, or fall off and join with idols;
 Which is my chief affliction, shame and sorrow,
 The anguish of my soul, that suffers not
 Mine eye to harbour sleep, or thoughts to rest.
 This only hope relieves me, that the strife 460
 With me hath end; all the contest is now
 'Twixt God and Dagon; Dagon hath presum'd,
 Me overthrown, to enter lists with God,
 His deity comparing and preferring
 Before the God of Abraham. He, be sure, 465
 Will not connive, or linger, thus provok'd,
 But will arise, and his great name assert:
 Dagon must stoop, and shall ere long receive
 Such a discomfit, as shall quite despoil him
 Of all these boasted trophies won on me, 470
 And with confusion blank his worshippers.

Man. With cause this hope relieves thee, and
 these words
 I as a prophecy receive; for God,

Ver. 471. ————— blank his worshippers.] That is,
 confound. So, in *Hamlet*, A. iii. S. ii.

“ Each opposite that *blanks* the face of joy.”

Milton often uses the adjective *blank* also in the sense of *confounded*.

Ver. 472. ————— and these words
I as a prophecy receive;] This method of one
 person's taking an omen from the words of another, was fre-

Nothing more certain, will not long defer
 To vindicate the glory of his Name 475
 Against all competition, nor will long
 Endure it doubtful whether God be Lord,
 Or Dagon. But for thee what shall be done?
 Thou must not, in the mean while here forgot,
 Lie in this miserable loathsome plight, 480
 Neglected. I already have made way
 To some Philistian lords, with whom to treat
 About thy ransom : well they may by this
 Have satisfied their utmost of revenge 484
 By pains and slaveries, worse than death, inflicted
 On thee, who now no more canst do them
 harm.

Samf. Spare that proposal, Father ; spare the
 trouble

Of that sollicitation ; let me here,
 As I deserve, pay on my punishment ;
 And expiate, if possible, my crime, 490
 Shameful garrulity. To have reveal'd
 Secrets of men, the secrets of a friend,
 How heinous had the fact been, how deserving
 Contempt, and scorn of all, to be excluded
 All friendship, and avoided as a blab, 495

quently practised among the ancients ; and in these words the
 downfall of Dagon's worshippers is artfully prefignified, as the
 death of Samson is in other places ; but Manoah, as it was
 natural, accepts the good omen, without thinking of the evil
 that is to follow. NEWTON,

The mark of fool set on his front? But I
 God's counsel have not kept, his holy secret
 Presumptuously have publish'd, impiously,
 Weakly at least, and shamefully; a sin
 That Gentiles in their parables condemn 500

Ver. 496. *The mark of fool set on his front?*

But I God's counsel have not kept, his holy secret]

So it is in all the editions. But Mr. Warton believes the Alexandrine verse was not left so by the author, and proposes to read,

“*The mark of fool set on his front? But I*

“*God's counsel have not kept, his holy secret*

“*Presumptuously have publish'd, &c.*”

There was also an instance in *Paradise Lost* of a needless Alexandrine, and of the deficiency of a foot in the preceding verse, which Tickell first rectified, B. x. 989. Where see the note. I have therefore made the emendation in the text.

Ver. 500. *That Gentiles in their parables condemn &c.*] Alluding to the story of Tantalus, who for revealing the secrets of the Gods was condemned to pains in Hell. Cicero *Tusc. Disp.* iv. 16. “*Poetæ impendere apud inferos saxum Tantalò faciunt ob scelera, animique impotentiam, et superbiloquentiam.*” Euripides assigns the same punishment, and for the same reason, *Orestes*, v. 8.

————— ὅτι θεῶν ἀνθρωπῶν

κοινῆς τραπέζης ἀξίωμ' ἔχων ἴσον,

Ἀκόλαστον ἔσχε γλῶσσαν, αἰσχίῃν νόσον.

Mr. Warburton's remark is that “the ancient mystagogues taught, that the Gods punished both the revealers, and the violators, of their mysteries. Milton had here in his eye that fine passage of Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 617.

——— “*fedet, æternúmque fedebit*

“*Infelix Theseus, Phlegyásque miserrimus omnes.*

“*Admonet, et magna testatur voce per umbras &c.*”

NEWTON.

To their abyſs and horrid pains confin'd.

Mun. Be penitent, and for thy fault contrite;
 But act not in thy own affliction, Son:
 Repent the ſin; but, if the puniſhment
 Thou canſt avoid, ſelf-preservation bids; 505
 Or the execution leave to high diſpoſal,
 And let another hand, not thine, exact
 Thy penal forfeit from thyſelf: perhaps
 God will relent, and quit thee all his debt;
 Who ever more approves, and more accepts, 510
 (Beſt pleas'd with humble and filial ſubmiſſion,)
 Him, who, imploring mercy, ſues for life,
 Than who, ſelf-rigorous, chooſes death as due;
 Which argues over-juſt, and ſelf-diſpleas'd •
 For ſelf-offence, more than for God offended. 515
 Rejeſt not then what offer'd means; who knows
 But God hath ſet before us, to return thee
 Home to thy country and his ſacred houſe,
 Where thou mayſt bring thy offerings, to avert
 His further ire, with prayers and vows renew'd?

Samſ. His pardon I implore; but as for life, 521
 To what end ſhould I ſeek it? when in ſtrength
 All mortals I excell'd, and great in hopes
 With youthful courage, and magnanimous
 thoughts
 Of birth from Heaven foretold, and high ex-
 ploits, 525
 Full of divine inſtinct, after ſome proof
 Of acts indeed heroick, far beyond
 The ſons of Anak, famous now and blaz'd,

Fearless of danger, like a petty God
 I walk'd about admir'd of all and dreaded 530
 On hostile ground, none daring my affront.
 Then swell'd with pride into the snare I fell
 Of fair fallacious looks, venereal trains,
 Soften'd with pleasure and voluptuous life ;
 At length to lay my head and hallow'd pledge 535
 Of all my strength in the lascivious lap
 Of a deceitful concubine, who shor'd me
 Like a tame wether, all my precious fleece,
 Then turn'd me out ridiculous, despoil'd,
 Shaven, and disarm'd among mine enemies. 540

Chor. Desire of wine and all delicious drinks,
 Which many a famous warrior overturns,
 Thou couldstst repress ; nor did the dancing ruby

Ver. 535. *At length to lay my head and hallow'd pledge
 Of all my strength in the lascivious lap
 Of a deceitful concubine,*] Compare Spenser, *Faery*

Queen, ii. vi. 14.

“ Thus when she had his eyes and senses fed
 “ *With false delights*, and fill'd with pleasures vain,
 “ Into a shady vale she soft him led,
 “ And layd him downe upon a grassy plain ;
 “ She sett beside, *laying his head disarm'd*
 “ *In her loose lap.*”

Ver. 543. ————— *the dancing ruby &c.*] Dr. Newton and Mr. Thyer remark, that the poet probably alludes to *Prov.* xxiii. 31. “ Look not thou upon the wine when it is red, when it giveth its colour in the cup, when it moveth itself aright.” Milton has also “ *rubied nectar*,” *Par. Lost*, B. v. 633. And *dancing* he has transferred hither from his *Comus*, v. 673.

“ And first, behold this cordial julep here,
 “ That flames and dances in his crystal bounds.”

Sparkling, out-pour'd, the flavour, or the smell,
Or taste that cheers the heart of Gods and Men,
Allure thee from the cool crystalline stream. 546

Samf. Wherever fountain or fresh current
flow'd

Against the eastern ray, translucent, pure

Ver. 545. *Or taste that cheers the heart of Gods and Men,*] *Judges*, ix. 13. "Wine which cheereth God and Man," Milton says *Gods*, which is a just paraphrase, meaning the hero-gods of the Heathen. Jotham is here speaking to an idolatrous city, that *ran a whoring after Baalim and made Baal-beruth their God*: A god sprung from among men, as may be partly collected from his name, as well as from diverse other circumstances of the story. Hesiod, in a similar expression, says that *the vengeance of the Fates pursued the crimes of Gods and Men*, *Theog.* v. 220.

Αἶν' ἀνθρώπων τε θεῶν τε καὶ τ. λ. WARBURTON.

"Gods and Men" is the reading of Milton's own edition, and more agreeable to the text of Scripture than in the common editions "Gods or Men." NEWTON.

The edition of 1747 follows Milton's own edition.

Ver. 547. *Wherever fountain or fresh current flow'd*
Against the eastern ray, &c.] This circumstance was very probably suggested to our author by the following lines of Tasso's poem *del Mondo creato*, Giornata iii. st. 8.

"O liquidi cristalli, onde s'estingua
"L'ardente sete a miseri mortali:
"Ma piu salubre è, se tra viue pietre
"Rompendo l'argentate, e fredde corna,
"Incontra il nuouo sol, che il puro argento
"Co' raggi indora"—— THYER.

Mr. Geddes, in his learned and entertaining *Essay on the Composition &c. of Plato*, considers these lines of Milton as possessing much of the same spirit, though applied to another thing, with a passage in the philosopher's *Ito*, p. 533, 534, tom. i. edit. Serran.

With touch ethereal of Heaven's fiery rod,
 I drank, from the clear milky juice allaying 550
 Thirst, and refresh'd: nor envied them the grape
 Whose heads that turbulent liquour fills with
 fumes.

Chor. O madness, to think use of strongest
 wines

And strongest drinks our chief support of health,
 When God with these forbidd'n made choice to
 rear 555

His mighty champion, strong above compare,
 Whose drink was only from the liquid brook.

Samf. But what avail'd this temperance, not
 complete

Against another object more enticing?
 What boots it at one gate to make defence, 560
 And at another to let in the foe,
 Effeminately vanquish'd? by which means,
 Now blind, dishearten'd, sham'd, dishonour'd,
 quell'd,

where, speaking of the poets, he says "As soon as they enter the winding mazes of harmony, they become lymphatic, and rove like the furious Bacchanals, who in their phrenzy *draw honey and milk out of the rivers*. The Poets tell us the same thing of themselves &c." See the *Essay*, Glasgow, 1748, p. 184.

Ver. 549. *With touch ethereal*] Pope has borrowed this phrase, *Essay on Man*, Ep. iii. 68. "Man by touch ethereal slain."

Ver. 557. *Whose drink &c.*] Samson was a Nazarite. *Judges*, xiii. 7; therefore to drink no wine, nor shave his head. See *Numb.* vi. *Amos*, ii. 12. RICHARDSON.

To what can I be useful, wherein serve
 My nation, and the work from Heaven impos'd,
 But to sit idle on the household hearth, 566
 A burdenous drone ; to visitants a gaze,
 Or pitied object, these redundant locks
 Robustious to no purpose clustering down,
 Vain monument of strength ; till length of years
 And sedentary numness craze my limbs 571
 To a contemptible old age obscure ?
 Here rather let me drudge, and earn my bread ;
 Till vermin, or the draff of servile food,
 Consume me, and oft-invoked death 575
 Hasten the welcome end of all my pains.

Man. Wilt thou then serve the Philistines with
 that gift

Which was expressly given thee to annoy them ?
 Better at home lie bed-ridden, not only idle,

Ver. 566. *But to sit idle on the household hearth, &c.*] It is supposed, with probability enough, that Milton chose Samson for his subject, because he was fellow-sufferer with him in the loss of his eyes ; however one may venture to say, that the similitude of their circumstances has enriched the poem with several very pathetic descriptions of the misery of blindness. THYER.

Ver. 569. *Robustious*] An old word signifying *violent or forcible*, as in Drayton's *Barons Warres*, 1627, c. v. st. 85.

“ Cast from my seat in some *robustious* course.”

Ver. 571. ——— craze my limbs] He uses the word *craze* much in the same manner as in the *Par. Lost*, B. xii. 210. Where see the note. NEWTON. *

Ver. 575. ——— oft-invoked death] Some editions read “ *oft-invoked death* ;” which destroys the metre.

Inglorious, unemploy'd, with age outworn. 580
 But God, who caus'd a fountain at thy prayer
 From the dry ground to spring, thy thirst to allay
 After the brunt of battle, can as easy
 Cause light again within thy eyes to spring, 584
 Wherewith to serve him better than thou hast;
 And I persuade me so; why else this strength
 Miraculous yet remaining in those locks?
 His might continues in thee not for nought,
 Nor shall his wonderous gifts be frustrate thus.

Samf. All otherwise to me my thoughts por-
 tend, 590
 That these dark orbs no more shall treat with
 light,
 Nor the other light of life continue long,
 But yield to double darkness nigh at hand:
 So much I feel my genial spirits droop,

Ver. 581. *But God, who caus'd a fountain at thy prayer
 From the dry ground to spring, &c.*] See *Judges*
 xv. 18, 19. But Milton differs from our translation of the
 Bible. The translation says, that *God clave an hollow place that
 was in the jaw*: Milton says, that *God caus'd a fountain from
 the dry ground to spring*, and herein he follows the Chaldee para-
 phraſt and the beſt commentators, who underſtand it that God
 made a cleft in ſome part of the ground or rock, in the place
 called Lehi; *Lehi* ſignifying both a jaw, and a place ſo called.

NEWTON.

Ver. 588. *His might continues &c.*] A fine preparative,
 which raiſes our expectation of ſome great event to be produced
 by his ſtrength. WARBURTON.

Ver. 594. *So much I feel my genial ſpirits droop, &c.*] Here
 Milton, in the perſon of Samſon, deſcribes exactly his own caſe,

My hopes all flat, Nature within me seems 595
 In all her functions weary of herself;
 My race of glory run, and race of shame,
 And I shall shortly be with them that rest.

Man. Believe not these suggestions, which
 proceed 599
 From anguish of the mind and humours black,
 That mingle with thy fancy. I however

what he felt, and what he thought, in some of his melancholy hours. He could not have written so well but from his own feeling and experience; and the very flow of the verses is melancholy, and excellently adapted to the subject. As Mr. Thyer expresses it, there is a remarkable solemnity, and air of melancholy, in the very sound of these verses; and the reader will find it very difficult to pronounce them without that grave and serious tone of voice which is proper for the occasion.

NEWTON.

Ver. 600. ————— and humours black,

That mingle with thy fancy.] This very just notion of the mind or fancy's being affected, and as it were tainted with the vitiated humours of the body, Milton had before adopted in his *Paradise Lost*, where he introduces Satan in the shape of a toad at the ear of Eve, B. iv. 804.

“ Or if, inspiring venom, he might taint

“ The animal spirits &c.”

So again in *Comus*, v. 809.

—————“ 'tis but the leers

“ And settlings of a melancholy blood.” THYER.

In all these notions Milton has followed the authority of others; for, in the passage cited from *Par. Lost*, he might allude to Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, 1621, p. 189, where the Tempter is described “troubling Eve's spirit,” and where it is observed also,

“ The evill Angels slide too easily,

“ As subtil spirits, into our fantasie.”

Must not omit a father's timely care
 To prosecute the means of thy deliverance
 By ransom, or how else : mean while be calm,
 And healing words from these thy friends admit.
[Exit.]

Samf. O that Torment should not be confin'd

In the passage from *Comus*, the same book might have suggested the expressions, ed. *supr.* p. 21.

—————" the *mass* of blood
 " The Sanguine Aire commands : the clotted mud,
 " Sunk down in *lees*, Earth's *melancholy* shewes."

Or Shakspeare, *K. John*, A. iii. S. v.

" Or if that furlly spirit, *melancholy*,
 " Had bak'd thy *blood*, and made it heavy-thick."

Here perhaps he was guided by Burton's *Anat. of Melancholy* :
 " Galen imputeth all to the cold that is *black* ; and thinks, that,
 the *spirits being darkened*, and the substance of the braine cloudy
 and darke, all the objects thereof appear terrible, and the *mind*
itselfe, by those darke, obscure, grosse fumes, *ascending from*
black humors, is in continual darknesse, fear, and sorrow ; divers
 terrible monstrous *fictions* in a thousand shapes and apparitions
 occurre, *with violent passions*, by which the *braine* and *phantasy*
 are troubled and eclipsed." Edit. Oxon. 1624, p. 178.

Ver. 605. *And healing words*] So, in *Par. Lost*, B. ix. 290.

" To whom with *healing words* Adam replied,"

The phrase is from Euripides, *Hippol.* v. 478.

Εἰς τὴν δ' ἰπποδάμει καὶ ἈΓΟΓΟΙ ΘΕΑΚΤΗΡΙΑΙ.

Ver. 606. *O that Torment should not be confin'd &c.*] Milton, no doubt, was apprehensive that this long description of Samson's grief and misery might grow tedious to the reader, and therefore here with great judgement varies both his manner of expressing it, and the versification. These sudden starts of impatience are very natural to persons in such circumstances, and

To the body's wounds and fores, 607
 With maladies innumerable
 In heart, head, breast, and reins ;
 But must secret passage find
 To the inmost mind, 611
 There exercise all his fierce accidents,
 And on her purest spirits prey,
 As on entrails, joints, and limbs,
 With answerable pains, but more intense, 615
 Though void of corporal sense.
 My griefs not only pain me
 As a lingering disease,
 But, finding no redress, ferment and rage ;
 Nor less than wounds immedicable 620
 Rankle, and fester, and gangrene,
 To black mortification.
 Thoughts, my tormenters, arm'd with deadly
 stings,
 Mangle my apprehensive tenderest parts,

this rough and unequal measure of the verses is very well suited to it. THYER.

Ver. 620. ——— *wounds immedicable*] Ovid. *Met.* x. 189.
 "Erat immedicabile vulnus." Whence also in Tasso's *Aminta*
Englisch, 1628, A. ii. S. i.

"So deadly and *immedicable wounds*."

Ver. 623. *Thoughts, my tormenters, arm'd with deadly stings,*
Mangle &c.] This descriptive imagery is fine
 and well pursued. The idea is taken from the effects of poisonous
 salts in the stomach and bowels, which stimulate, tear, inflame,
 and exulcerate the tender fibres; and end in a mortification,
 which he calls *death's benumbing opium*, as in that stage the pain
 is over. WARBURTON.

Exasperate, exulcerate, and raise 625
 Dire inflammation, which no cooling herb
 Or med'cinal liquour can assuage,

This imagery may have been adopted in imitation of Spenser, *Faer. Qu.* iii. ii. 39. Britomart, having "swallowed the hidden hook of love," says

" Sithens it hath infixed faster hold
 " Within my bleeding bowels, and so fore
 " New rankleth in this same fraile fleshy mould,
 " That all mine entrails flow with poisonous gore,
 " And the ulcer daily groweth more and more;
 " Ne can my running sore find remedee—
 " Till death make one end of my daies and miseree."

But compare the lamentation of Io in the *Prometheus* of Æschylus, v. 884. ed. Schütz.

Ἰὼ δ' μ' αὖ σφάκελος καὶ φρινοπηγυῖς
 Μανίας θάλλουσα, οἷον δ' ἄρδεις
 Χρῖμι μ' ἄπυρος,
 Κραδία δὲ φόβῳ φρίνα λακτίζει.

" *Mangled mind*," I must observe, is a phrase in Sidney's *Arcadia*, 13th edit. p. 352.

" *My mangled minde* huge horrors still do fright."

After all, Milton might have had an eye to the impassioned exclamation of *Macbeth*, A. v. S. iii.

" Canst thou not minister to a *mind diseas'd*;

" Pluck from the memory a *rooted sorrow*; &c."

Compare also Milton's *Prose Works*, where he speaks of "a smooth and easy lesson, which, received, hath the virtue to soften and dispel *rooted* and knotty *sorrows*," vol. i. ed. 1698. p. 281.

Ver. 627. *Or med'cinal liquour*] Here *medicinal* is pronounced with the accent upon the last syllable but one, as in Latin; which is more musical than as we commonly pronounce it *medicinal* with the accent upon the last syllable but two, or *med'cinal* as Milton has used it in *Comus*. The same musical pronunciation occurs in Shakspeare, *Othello*, A. v. S. x.

Nor breath of vernal air from snowy Alp.
Sleep hath forfook and given me o'er

“ Drop tears as fast as the Arabian trees

“ Their *medicinal* gum.” NEWTON.

Medicinal is not the reading of Milton's own edition: In that it is *medicinal*. The supposed emendation of *medicinal* is made in the folio of 1688, and it has been since invariably followed. But Milton intended the word to be *medcinal*, and to be pronounced hastily, as in *Comus*, v. 636.

“ And yet more *medcīnāl* is it than that Moly;”

for it must be observed that the verse here consists of *only four feet*, corresponding with the alternate verses, to the end of paragraph.—Mr. Steevens, in a note on the passage of *Othello*, cited by doctor Newton, observes that *medicinal* occurs in the works of two of our greatest poets, Milton and Dryden. I apprehend, not in the poetry of Milton. I even find, that in his own editions of his Prose-Works, Milton repeatedly spells the word, as in the text, *medcinal*.

Ver. 628. *Nor breath of vernal air*] So, in that most delightful passage in *Par. Lost*, B. iv. 264.

—————“ *airs, vernal airs,*

“ *Breathing the smell of field and grove, &c.*”

Ibid. ————— *from snowy Alp.*] He uses *Alp* for mountain in general, as in *Par. Lost*, B. ii. 620.

“ O'er many a frozen, many a fiery *Alp.*”

Alp, in the strict etymology of the word, signifies a mountain white with snow. We have indeed appropriated the name to the high mountains which separate Italy from France and Germany; but any high mountain may be so called, and so Sidonius Apollinaris calls mount Athos, speaking of Xerxes cutting through it, *Carm.* ii. 510.

—————“ *cui ruptus Athos, cui remige Medo*

“ *Turgida sylvosam currebant vela per Alpem.*”

And the old Glossary interprets *Alps* by ὄρη ὑψηλά *high mountains*,
NEWTON.

To death's benumbing opium as my only cure:
Thence faintings, swoonings of despair, 631
And sense of Heaven's desertion.

I was his nurfling once, and choice delight,
His destin'd from the womb,
Promis'd by heavenly message twice descending.
Under his special eye 636
Abstemious I grew up, and thriv'd amain;
He led me on to mightiest deeds,
Above the nerve of mortal arm,
Against the uncircumcis'd, our enemies: 640
But now hath cast me off as never known,
And to those cruel enemies,
Whom I by his appointment had provok'd,
Left me all helpless with the irreparable loss
Of fight, reserv'd alive to be repeated 645
The subject of their cruelty or scorn.
Nor am I in the list of them that hope;
Hopeless are all my evils, all remediless:
This one prayer yet remains, might I be heard,
No long petition, speedy death, 650
The close of all my miseries, and the balm.

Ver. 633. *I was his nurfling once, &c.*] This part of Samson's speech is little more than a repetition of what he had said before, v. 23.

“ O, wherefore was my birth from Heaven foretold

“ Twice by an Angel &c.”

But yet it cannot justly be imputed as a fault to our author. Grief, though eloquent, is not tied to forms; and is besides apt in its own nature frequently to recur to, and repeat, its source and subject. THYER.

Chor. Many are the sayings of the wife,
 In ancient and in modern books inroll'd,
 Extolling patience as the truest fortitude;
 And to the bearing well of all calamities, 655
 All chances incident to man's frail life,
 Consolatories writ
 With studied argument, and much persuasion
 fought
 Lenient of grief and anxious thought:

Ver. 654. ——— *patience as the truest fortitude*;] So, in *Par. Lost*, B. ix. 31. "The better fortitude of patience."

Ver. 656. *All chances incident to man's frail life, &c.*] There is a full stop at the end of this line in all the editions, but there should be only a comma, as the sense evinces, the construction being *And consolatories writ with &c. to the bearing well &c.* Milton himself corrected it in the first edition; but when an error is once made, it is sure to be perpetuated through all the editions. NEWTON.

Ver. 658. ————— *and much persuasion fought*] I suppose an error of the press for *fraught*. WARBURTON.

I conceive the construction to be, *Consolatories* are writ with *studied argument, and much persuasion* is fought &c. NEWTON.

Ver. 659. *Lenient of grief*] Expressed from what we quoted before from Horace, *Ep.* I. i. 34.

"Sunt verba et voces, quibus hunc lenire dolorem

"Possis."— NEWTON.

Broome and Fenton have adopted, in their poetry, the expression "*lenient of grief*;" which Mr. Wakefield considers as of a similar construction with Gray's "*redolent of joy*," *Ode on Eton Coll.* v. 19. And he also cites Dryden's "*redolent of spring*." I find this manner of speaking, however, to be of high poetical authority, among the forgotten bards of elder days: Thus, in Hawes's *Pastime of Pleasure*, 1554.

"O *redolent well of famous poetry*."

But with the afflicted in his pangs their sound
 Little prevails, or rather seems a tune 661
 Harsh, and of dissonant mood from his complaint ;

Unless he feel within
 Some source of consolation from above,
 Secret refreshings, that repair his strength, 665
 And fainting spirits uphold.

God of our fathers, what is man !

Again,

“ Her redolent words of swete influence.”

And in Skelton's *Boke of Philip Sparow*,

“ And redolent of ayre.”

Ver. 660. *But with the afflicted*] Here was another error perpetuated through all the editions, “ But to the afflicted.” Milton himself corrected it. NEWTON.

Ver. 661. ——— or rather seems a tune

Harsh, and of dissonant mood &c.] Alluding to *Eccles*, xxii. 6. “ A tale out of season is as musick in mourning.”

THYER.

See also the *Mir. for Magistrates*, ed. 1610, p. 708.

“ The sage instructions of the wise man's mouth,

“ Do sound harsh musike in the eares of youth.”

Ver. 667. *God of our fathers, what is man ! &c.*] This, and the following paragraph, to ver. 705. seem to be an imitation of the Chorus in Seneca's *Hippolytus*, where the immature and undeserved fate of that young hero is lamented, A. iv. 971.

———“ fed cur idem,

“ Qui tanta regis, sub quo vasti

“ Pondera mundi librata suos

“ Ducunt orbes, hominum nimium

“ Securus ades ; non sollicitus

“ Prodesse bonis, nocuisse malis ?”

&c. to the end. THYER.

That thou towards him with hand so various,
 Or might I say contrarious,
 Temper'ft thy providence through his short courfe,
 Not evenly, as thou rul'ft 671
 The angelick Orders, and inferiour creatures mute,
 Irrational and brute.
 Nor do I name of men the common rout,
 That wandering loofe about 675
 Grow up and perifh, as the fummer-fly,
 Heads without name no more remember'd;
 But fuch as thou haft folemnly elected,
 With gifts and graces eminently adorn'd,
 To fome great work, thy glory, 680
 And people's fafety, which in part they effect:
 Yet toward thefe thus dignified, thou oft,

Ver. 669. *Or might I fay contrarious,*] *Adverfe.* So, in
the Weakeft goeth to the Wall, 1600.

“ Like a *contrarious* tempeft ——”

And in Chaucer, *Leg. of Dido*, v. 435.

“ Sens that the goddes ben *contrarious* to me.”

Ver. 676. ——— *as the fummer-fly,*] So, in Shak-
 fpeare, *K. Hen. VI.* P. iii. A. ii. S. vi.

“ The common people fwarm *like fummer-flies.*”

Ver. 677. *Heads without name no more remember'd;*] Milton
 here probably had in view the Greek term for this lower clafs of
 mortals. They ftyle them *ἀνάρητοι* or *ἀνριθμητοί*, *men not num-*
bered, or *not worth the numbering.* *THYER.*

Ver. 682. *Yet toward thefe thus dignified, thou oft,*
Amidft their highth of noon,
Changeft thy countenance,] There is a fine paf-
 fage in the Fragments of Euripides, which Milton perhaps now
 remembered. See *Incert. Trag. Eurip.* v. 12, edit. Barnes.

Amidst their highth of noon,
 Changest thy countenance, and thy hand, with
 no regard

Of highest favours past 685
 From thee on them, or them to thee of service.

Nor only dost degrade them, or remit
 To life obscur'd, which were a fair dismissal,
 But throw'st them lower than thou didst exalt
 them high,

Unseemly falls in human eye, 690
 Too grievous for the trespass or omission ;
 Oft leav'st them to the hostile sword
 Of Heathen and profane, their carcases
 To dogs and fowls a prey, or else captiv'd ; 694
 Or to the unjust tribunals, under change of times,

Πολλοῖς ὁ Δαίμων, ὃ κατ' ἑνοσίαν φέρων
 Μεγάλα δίδωσιν ἐντυχήματ' ἀλλ' ἵνα
 Τὰς συμφορὰς λάβωσιν ἐμφανέστερας.

Ver. 683. *Amidst their highth of noon,*] This fine expression
 is applied in the same manner by Sandys, in his *Paraphrase upon*
Job, ed. 1648, p. 34.

“ When men are from *their noon of glory* thrown.”

Again, in his *Paraphrase upon the Psalms*, ed. sup. p. 124.

“ Thou hast on slippery *heights* their greatness plac'd ;

“ Down headlong from *their noon of glory* cast.”

Ver. 693. ————— *their carcases*

To dogs and fowls a prey,] Plainly alluding to

Homer, *Il.* i. 4.

— αὐτὰς δὲ ἐλώρια τεύχε κύνεσσιν,
 Οἰωνοῖσι τε παῖσι. NEWTON.

Ver. 695. *Or to the unjust tribunals, under change of times, &c.*] Here, no doubt, Milton reflected upon the trials and sufferings of

And condemnation of the ingrateful multitude.
If these they 'scape, perhaps in poverty

party after the Restoration ; and probably he might have in mind particularly the case of Sir Harry Vane, whom he has so highly celebrated in one of his Sonnets.

If these they 'scape, perhaps in poverty &c. ; this was his own case ; he escaped with life, but lived in poverty, and though he was always very sober and temperate, yet he was much afflicted with the gout and other painful diseases, in crude old age, crudus senectus, when he was not yet a very old man :

“ Though not disordinate, yet causeless suffering
“ The punishment of dissolute days.”

Some time after I had written this, I had the pleasure to find that I had fallen into the same vein of thinking with Mr. Warburton : but he has opened and pursued it much further, with a penetration and liveliness of fancy peculiar to himself.

“ *God of our fathers,*” to ver. 704, is a bold expostulation with Providence for the ill success of the *good old cause*.

“ But such as thou hast solemnly elected,
“ With *gifts and graces* eminently adorn'd
“ To some great work thy glory.”

In these three lines are described the characters of the Heads of the Independent Enthusiasts : “ which *in part* they effect :” that is, by the overthrow of the monarchy, without being able to raise their projected republic.

“ Yet toward these thus dignified, thou oft,
“ Amidst their highth of noon,
“ Changeest thy countenance, —”

After Richard had laid down, all power came into the hands of the enthusiastick Independent Republicans, when a sudden revolution, by the return of Charles II. broke all their measures.

—— “ with no regard
“ Of highest favours past
“ *From thee on them, or them to thee of service.*”

With sickness and disease thou bow'st them down,
Painful diseases and deform'd,
In crude old age ;

700

That is, without any regard of those favours shown by thee to them in their wonderful successes against tyranny and superstition, [Church and State,] or of those services they paid to thee in declaring for religion and liberty, [Independency and a Republick.]

“ Nor only dost degrade &c.

“ Too grievous for the *trespasses* or *omission* ;”

By the *trespasses* of these precious saints Milton means the quarrels among themselves : and by the *omission*, the not making a clear stage in the constitution, and new-modelling the law, as well as national religion, as Ludlow advised.

“ *Captiv'd* :” Several were condemn'd to perpetual imprisonment, as Lambert and Martin.

“ Or to the *unjust tribunals* under change of times &c.”

The trials and condemnation of Vane and the Regicides. The concluding verses describe his own case,

“ If these they 'scape, perhaps in *poverty* —

“ *Painful diseases and deform'd* —

“ Though not disordinate, yet causeless suffering

“ *The punishment of dissolute days* :”

His losses in the Excise, and his gout not caused by intemperance. But Milton was the most heated enthusiast of his time ; speaking of Charles the first's murder in his Defence of the people of England he says—“ *Quamquam ego hæc divino potius instinctu gesta esse crediderim, quoties memoria repeto, &c.*” NEWTON.

Ver. 700. *In crude old age ;*] *Crude* old age in Virgil, and in other writers, is *strong* and *robust*,—“ *cruda Deo viridisque senectus.*” But Milton uses *crude* here for *premature* and *coming before its time*, as “ *cruda funera*” in Statius : Old age brought on by poverty and by sickness, as Hesiod says *Epy. v. 93.*

Αἴψα γὰρ ἐν κακότητι βροτοὶ καταγράσκουσιν. JORTIN.



Though not difordinate, yet caufeless suffering
 The punishment of diffolute days: in fine,
 Juft, or unjuft, alike feem miserable,
 For oft alike both come to evil end.

So deal not with this once thy glorious cham-
 pion, 705
 The image of thy ftrength, and mighty minifter.
 What do I beg? how haft thou dealt already?
 Behold him in this ftate calamitous, and turn
 His labours, for thou canft, to peaceful end.—

But who is this, what thing of fea or land? 710
 Female of fex it feems,
 That fo bedeck'd, ornate, and gay,

Ver. 708. *Behold him in this ftate calamitous, and turn*

His labours, for thou canft, to peaceful end.] The concluding verfes of this beautiful Chorus appear to me particularly affecting, from the perfuafion that Milton, in compofing them, addreffed the two laft immediately to Heaven, as a prayer for himfelf. If the conjecture of this application be juft, we may add, that never was the prevalence of a righteous prayer more happily conspicuous; and let me here remark, that however various the opinions of men may be concerning the merits or demerits of Milton's political character, the integrity of his heart appears to have fecured to him the favour of Providence; fince it pleafed the Giver of all good not only to turn his labours to a peaceful end, but to irradiate his declining life with the moft abundant portion of thofe pure and fublime mental powers, for which he had constantly and fervently prayed, as the choicelt bounty of Heaven. HAYLEY.

Ver. 712. *That fo bedeck'd, ornate, and gay,*] In his *Traffate on Education*, he has “a graceful and ornate Rhetorick.” This word occurs in Caxton's Preface to *The Boke of Eneydos*, 1490; “Not in rude and old language, but in polifhed and ornate terms.”

Comes this way failing
 Like a stately ship
 Of Tarfus, bound for the isles
 Of Javan or Gadire

715

See also *Ancient Scottish Poems*, edit. 1786. vol. i. p. 63.

“ Quhen endit had hir ornat speche this eloquent wedo.”

Ver. 714. *Like a stately ship* &c.] The thought of comparing a woman to a ship, is not entirely new. Plautus has it in his *Pænulus*, I. II. i.

“ Negotii sibi qui volet vim parare,

“ Navem et mulierem, hæc duo comparato, &c.”

Mr. Warburton, in a note on the *Merry W. of Windsor*, A. iii. S. viii, speaking of the *ship-tire*, says “ it was an open head-dress, with a kind of scarf depending from behind. Its name of *ship-tire* was, I presume, from its giving the wearer some resemblance of a *ship*, as Shakspeare says, *in all her trim*; with all her pennants out, and flags and streamers flying. Thus Milton paints Dalila. This was an image familiar with the poets of that time. Thus, in Beaumont and Fletcher’s *Wit without Money*: She spreads fattens as the king’s *ships do canvas*.” NEWTON.

See the commentators on *ship-tire*, in Steevens’s Shakspeare, edit. 1793, vol. iii. p. 416—418. Milton had before contemptuously applied this simile, in his second book of *Reformation*, to the clerical and academical drefs: “ They would request us to endure still the rustling of their filken cassocks, and that we should burst our midrifts, rather than laugh to see them *under sail* in all their lawn and farcenet, their *shrouds and tackle*, with a geometrical rhomboides upon their heads.”

Ver. 715. *Of Tarfus*,] There is frequent mention in Scripture of the *ships of Tarshish*, which Milton, as well as some commentators, might conceive to be the same as *Tarfus*, in Cilicia: *bound for the isles of Javan*, that is, Greece; for *Javan* or Ion, the fourth son of Japhet, is said to have peopled Greece and Ionia, or *Gadire*, *Gadîpa*, Gades, Cadiz. NEWTON.

With all her bravery on, and tackle trim,
 Sails fill'd, and streamers waving,
 Courted by all the winds that hold them play,
 An amber scent of odorous perfume 720
 Her harbinger, a damsel train behind;
 Some rich Philistian matron she may seem;

Ver. 717. *With all her bravery on, and tackle trim,
 Sails fill'd, &c.*] Gray has also drawn a beautiful
 comparison of a ship in *gallant trim*, in his *Bard*, v. 71, &c. I
 beg leave to introduce to the reader's notice a similar description,
 of remarkable elegance, in Giles Fletcher's *Christ's Victorie*,
 B. ii. ft. 35.

" Like as a ship, in which no ballance lies,
 " Without a pilot, on the sleeping waves,
 " Fairly along with winde and water flies,
 " And painted masts with silken sails embraces,
 " That Neptune's self the bragging vessel saves,
 " To laugh awhile at her so proud array;
 " Her waving streamers loofely she lets play,
 " And flagging colours shine as bright as smiling day."

Ver. 719. *Courted by all the winds*] It may be curious to
 remark that this precise expression is applied to Eve in the *Adams*
 of Pona, p. 41. " *Servita dall' aure, corteggiata da' venti &c.*"

Ver. 720. *An amber scent &c.*] A favourite perfume with
 the Ladies, in the seventeenth century. Thus in Jonson's *Neptu-*
ne's triumph, Proteus thus addresses the Ladies,

" Why doe you smell of *Amber-gris*?"

And in Herrick's address *To his Mistresses*, 1648, p. 18.

" Put on your silks; and piece by piece

" Give them the *scent of Amber-greece*."

And even with the beaux of the times, as in Sylvester's *Du*
Bart, 1621, p. 311.

" Soft carpet-knights all *scenting* mulk and *amber*."

And now at nearer view, no other certain
Than Dalila thy Wife.

Samf. My Wife ! my Traiteurs : let her not
come near me. 725

Chor. Yet on she moves, now stands and eyes
thee fix'd,

About to have spoke ; but now, with head de-
clin'd,

Like a fair flower furcharg'd with dew, she
weeps,

Ver. 726. *Yet on she moves, &c.*] Like Iphigene in the *Antigone* of Sophocles, v. 532.

Καὶ μὴν πρὸ πυλῶν ἥδ' Ἰσμήνη
Φιλαδέλφειά καὶ δάκρυ' εἰσομένη.
Νεφέλη δ' ὀφρύων ὕπερ, αἵματόν
ῥίθος αἰσχύνηι,
Τέγυσ' εὐώπαι παριάν.

Mr. Jortin and Mr. Thyer both concurred in the same observa-
tion, and therefore it is more likely to be true. NEWTON.

Ver. 727. ————— but now, with head declin'd,

Like a fair flower &c.] Probably from Homer,

Il. viii. 306.

Μήκων δ' ὤς, ἐτέρωσι κάρη βάλλειν, ἢ τ' ἐν κήπῳ
Καρπῷ βριθομένη νοτίῃσ' τε εἰαρινῇσιν.

Dryden, in his *Aureng-zebe*, has almost literally copied Milton,

“ Your head declin'd, as hiding grief from view,

“ Droops, like a rose furcharg'd with morning-dew.”

Phineas Fletcher is fond of this classical allusion. See his *Purp.*
Island, c. xi. ft. 30, and particularly ft. 38.

“ So have I often seen a purple flower,

“ Fainting through heat, hang down her drooping head, &c.”

And words addrefs'd ſeem into tears diffolv'd,
 Wetting the borders of her filken veil : 730
 But now again ſhe makes addrefs to ſpeak.

[Enter] *Dalila*.

Dal. With doubtful feet and wavering reſolution

I came, ſtill dreading thy diſpleaſure, Samſon,
 Which to have merited, without excuſe,
 I cannot but acknowledge ; yet, if tears 735
 May expiate, (though the fact more evil drew
 In the perverſe event than I foreſaw,)
 My penance hath not ſlacken'd, though my pardon

Carew has alſo a ſimilar compariſon :

“ As lillies, *overcharg'd with rain*, they bend
 “ Their beauteous heads, &c.”

Ver. 729. *And words addrefs'd &c.*] This verſe is printed imperfect in moſt of the editions,

“ And words addrefs'd ſeem tears diffolv'd,”
 that being wanted which is in the firſt edition,

“ And words addrefs'd ſeem *into* tears diffolv'd.”

Mr. Jortin conjectured it ſhould be ſo read, without ſeeing the firſt edition. NEWTON.

Ver. 732. *With doubtful feet &c.*] The ſcene between Samſon and Dalila is drawn up with great judgement, and particular beauty. One cannot conceive a more artful, ſoft, and perſuaſive, eloquence than that which is put into the mouth of Dalila ; nor is the part of Samſon leſs to be admired for that ſtern and reſolute firmneſs which runs through it. What alſo gives both parts a great additional beauty is their forming ſo fine a contraſt to each other. THYER.

No way affur'd. But conjugal affection,
 Prevailing over fear and timorous doubt, 740
 Hath led me on, desirous to behold
 Once more thy face, and know of thy estate,
 If aught in my ability may serve
 To lighten what thou suffer'ft, and appease
 Thy mind with what amends is in my power, 745
 Though late, yet in some part to recompense
 My rash, but more unfortunate, misdeed.

Samf. Out, out, Hyæna ! these are thy wonted
 arts,

Ver. 748. *Out, out, Hyæna !*] The hyæna is a creature somewhat like a wolf, and is said to imitate a human voice so artfully as to draw people to it, and then devour them. So Solinus, the transcriber of Pliny, cap. 27. “ Multa de ea mira : primum, quod sequitur stabula pastorum, et auditu assiduo addiscit vocamen, quod exprimere possit *imitatione vocis humanæ*, ut in hominem astu accitum nocte sæviat.” A celebrated tragick writer makes use of the same comparison, *Orphan*, A. ii.

“ Tis thus the false hyæna makes her moan,
 “ To draw the pitying traveller to her den ;
 “ Your sex are so, such false dissemblers all, &c.”

Milton applies it to a woman, but Otway to the men ; which with the greater justice let the criticks and the ladies determine.

NEWTON.

An old dramatick writer has in different places of his play entitled *The Cobbler's Prophecie*, 1594, compared *both* sexes to the hyæna. I find another reflection of this kind in Greene's *Newer too late*, 1616, pt. 2d. “ She weepes with the crocodile, and smiles with the *hyæna*, and flatters with the panther.”

Ibid. ————— *these are thy wonted arts,*] From Ovid :

“ Credidimus lacrymis, an et hæ simulare docentur ?
 “ Hæ quoque habent artes, quæque jubentur eunt.”

And arts of every woman false like thee,
 To break all faith, all vows, deceive, betray, 750
 Then as repentant to submit, beseech,
 And reconciliation move with feign'd remorse,
 Confess, and promise wonders in her change;
 Not truly penitent, but chief to try
 Her husband, how far urg'd his patience bears, 755
 His virtue or weakness which way to assail:
 Then with more cautious and instructed skill
 Again transgresses, and again submits;
 That wisest and best men, full oft beguil'd,
 With goodness principled not to reject 760
 The penitent, but ever to forgive,
 Are drawn to wear out miserable days,
 Entangled with a poisonous bosom snake,
 If not by quick destruction soon cut off,

Ver. 750. Almost the whole of the paragraph is closely copied, or imitated, by Dryden in his *Aureng-zebe*, A. ii. S. i.

Ver. 759. *That wisest and best men, full oft beguil'd, With goodness &c.*] Milton had reason to lament that excess of indulgence, with which he forgave and received again his disobedient and long-alienated wife; since their reunion not only disquieted his days, but gave birth to daughters, who seem to have inherited the perversity of their mother. These pathetick lines strike me as a forcible allusion to his own conjugal infelicity. HAYLEY.

Ver. 762. *Are drawn to wear out miserable days, — If not by quick destruction soon cut off,*] He makes the same reflection, in his *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, on “two persons *ill imbarck in wedlock*. What folly is it to stand combating and battering against invincible causes and effects, with evil upon evil, till either *the best of our days be lingred out, or ended with some speeding sorrow*.” B. i. chap. 10.

As I by thee, to ages an example. 765

Dal. Yet hear me, Samson; not that I endeavour

To lessen or extenuate my offence,
But that on the other side, if it be weigh'd
By itself, with aggravations not furcharg'd,
Or else with just allowance counterpois'd. 770

I may, if possible, thy pardon find
The easier towards me, or thy hatred less.
First granting, as I do, it was a weakness
In me, but incident to all our sex,
Curiosity, inquisitive, impórtune 775

Of secrets, then with like infirmity
To publish them, both common female faults :
Was it not weakness also to make known
For importunity, that is for nought,
Wherein consisted all thy strength and safety? 780
To what I did thou shew'd'st me first the way.

But I to enemies reveal'd, and should not :
Nor should'st thou have trusted that to woman's
frailty :

Ere I to thee, thou to thyself wast cruel. 784
Let weakness then with weakness come to parle,

Ver. 785. ————— *come to parle,*] In *Par. Lost*,
B. vi. 296, *parle* is *talk*; here it is *treaty* or *reconciliation*, as in
Shakspeare's *Taming of the Shrew*, A. i. S. i. " Though the
nature of our quarrel never yet brook'd *parle*, know now, upon
advice, it touched us both, &c." So, in *Par. Reg.* B. iv. 529.
" By *parle* or composition." *Parle* is said to have been one of
the affected words introduced into our language by Lyly. See

So near related, or the fame of kind,
 Thine forgive mine; that men may censure thine
 The gentler, if severely thou exact not
 More strength from me, than in thyself was found.
 And what if love, which thou interpret'ft hate, 790
 The jealousy of love, powerful of sway
 In human hearts, nor less in mind towards thee,
 Caus'd what I did? I saw thee mutable
 Of fancy, fear'd lest one day thou would'ft leave
 me 794

As her at Timna, fought by all means therefore
 How to endear, and hold thee to me firmest:
 No better way I saw than by importuning
 To learn thy secrets, get into my power
 Thy key of strength and safety: thou wilt say,
 Why then reveal'd? I was assur'd by those 800
 Who tempted me, that nothing was design'd
 Against thee but safe custody, and hold:
 That made for me; I knew that liberty
 Would draw thee forth to perilous enterprizes,
 While I at home sat full of cares and fears, 805
 Wailing thy absence in my widow'd bed;
 Here I should still enjoy thee, day and night,
 Mine and love's prisoner, not the Philistines',

Steevens's Shakspeare, edit. 1793, vol. 15, p. 10. Milton also uses it as a verb, *Hist. of Eng.* B. vi. "Knute, finding himself too *weak*, began to *parle*," that is, to *treat*.

Ver. 808. *Mine and love's prisoner,*] These few words express the substance of Juliet's beautiful speech to Romeo, A. ii, S. ii.

Whole to myself, unhazarded abroad,
 Fearless at home of partners in my love. 810
 These reasons in love's law have past for good,
 Though fond and reasonless to some perhaps ;
 And love hath oft, well meaning, wrought much
 woe,

Yet always pity or pardon hath obtain'd.
 Be not unlike all others, not austere 815
 As thou art strong, inflexible as steel.
 If thou in strength all mortals dost exceed,
 In uncompassionate anger do not so.

Samf. How cunningly the forcerefs displays
 Her own transgressions, to upbraid me mine ! 820
 That malice, not repentance, brought thee hither,
 By this appears : I gave, thou say'st, the example,
 I led the way ; bitter reproach, but true ;
 I to myself was false ere thou to me ;
 Such pardon therefore as I give my folly, 825
 Take to thy wicked deed ; which when thou seest
 Impartial, self-severe, inexorable,
 Thou wilt renounce thy seeking, and much rather
 Confess it feign'd : Weakness is thy excuse,
 And I believe it ; weakness to resist 830
 Philistian gold : If weakness may excuse,
 What murderer, what traitor, parricide,

" 'Tis almost morning, I would have thee gone ;
 " And yet no further than a wanton's bird ;
 " Who lets it hop a little from her hand,
 " Like a poor *prisoner* in his twisted gyves,
 " And with a silk thread plucks it back again,
 " *So loving-jealous of his liberty.*"

Incestuous, sacrilegious, but may plead it ?
 All wickedness is weakness : that plea therefore
 With God or Man will gain thee no remission. 835
 But love constrain'd thee ; call it furious rage
 To satisfy thy lust : love seeks to have love ;
 My love how could'st thou hope, who took'st the
 way

To raise in me inexorable hate,
 Knowing, as needs I must, by thee betray'd ? 840
 In vain thou striv'st to cover shame with shame,
 Or by evasions thy crime uncover'st more.

Dal. Since thou determin'st weakness for no
 plea

In man or woman, though to thy own condemning,
 Hear what assaults I had, what snares besides, 845
 What sieges girt me round, ere I consented ;
 Which might have aw'd the best-resolv'd of men,
 The constantest, to have yielded without blame.
 It was not gold, as to my charge thou lay'st,
 That wrought with me : Thou know'st the ma-
 gistrates

Ver. 840. *Knowing, as needs I must, by thee betray'd ?*] The same manner of speaking, as in *Par. Lost*, B. ix. 792.

“ And knew not eating death.”

Where see Mr. Richardson's note. NEWTON.

Ver. 842. *Or by evasions*] This is the reading of the old editions, and particularly of Milton's own : the later ones have “ *For by evasions* ”—which is not so plain and intelligible.

NEWTON.

Ver. 850. ————— *Thou know'st the magistrates*

And princes of my country came in person, 851
 Solicited, commanded, threaten'd, urg'd,
 Adjur'd by all the bonds of civil duty
 And of religion, prefs'd how just it was,
 How honourable, how glorious, to entrap 855
 A common enemy, who had destroy'd
 Such numbers of our nation: and the priest
 Was not behind, but ever at my ear,
 Preaching how meritorious with the Gods
 It would be to ensnare an irreligious 860
 Dishonourer of Dagon: what had I
 To oppose against such powerful arguments?
 Only my love of thee held long debate,
 And combated in silence all these reasons
 With hard contest: at length that grounded
 maxim, 865

*And princes of my country came in person,
 Solicited,]* Judges xvi. 5. "*And the lords of the
 Philistines came up unto her, and said &c.*" So exact is Milton
 in all the particulars of the story, and improves every incident.

NEWTON.

It may be curious to compare the account, related by Sallust, of Cicero, who secured the harlot Fulvia to his interest; and through her means gained, by the force of promises, his intelligence of Catiline's machinations from Q. Curius, who was engaged in the conspiracy, and with whom Fulvia was criminally connected: "A principio consulatus sui, multa per Fulviam pollicendo, effecerat, ut Q. Curius (cui cum Fulvia stupri vetus consuetudo) consilia Catilinæ sibi proderet." Sallust, *Catilin.*

Ver. 864. ———— *all these reasons]* We follow the reading of Milton's own edition, and not of the others "*all their reasons.*" NEWTON.

The folio of 1688 reads "*these reasons.*"

So ripe and celebrated in the mouths
 Of wisest men, that to the publick good
 Private respects must yield, with grave authority
 Took full possession of me, and prevail'd ;
 Virtue, as I thought, truth, duty, so enjoining.

Samf. I thought where all thy circling wiles
 would end ; 871

In feign'd religion, smooth hypocrisy !
 But had thy love, still odiously pretended,
 Been, as it ought, sincere, it would have taught
 thee

Far other reasonings, brought forth other deeds.
 I, before all the daughters of my tribe 876
 And of my nation, chose thee from among
 My enemies, lov'd thee, as too well thou knew'st ;
 Too well ; unbosom'd all my secrets to thee,
 Not out of levity, but over-power'd 880
 By thy request, who could deny thee nothing ;
 Yet now am judg'd an enemy. Why then
 Did'st thou at first receive me for thy husband,
 Then, as since then, thy country's foe profess'd ?
 Being once a wife, for me thou wast to leave 885
 Parents and country ; nor was I their subject,
 Nor under their protection but my own,
 Thou mine, not theirs : If aught against my life
 Thy country fought of thee, it fought unjustly,
 Against the law of nature, law of nations ; 890
 No more thy country, but an impious crew
 Of men conspiring to uphold their state
 By worse than hostile deeds, violating the ends

For which our country is a name so dear ;
 Not therefore to be obey'd. But zeal mov'd
 thee ; 895

To please thy Gods thou didst it ; Gods, unable
 To acquit themselves and prosecute their foes
 But by ungodly deeds, the contradiction
 Of their own deity, Gods cannot be ;
 Less therefore to be pleas'd, obey'd, or fear'd. 900
 These false prettexts and varnish'd colours failing,
 Bare in thy guilt, how foul must thou appear ?

Dal. In argument with men a woman ever
 Goes by the worse, whatever be her cause.

Samf. For want of words no doubt, or lack
 of breath ; 905

Witness when I was worried with thy peals.

Dal. I was a fool, too rash, and quite mistaken
 In what I thought would have succeeded best.
 Let me obtain forgiveness of thee, Samson ;
 Afford me place to show what recompence 910

Ver. 898. — *by ungodly deeds, the contradiction*

Of their own deity, Gods cannot be ;] So, in Baruch's description of the Babylonian idols, chap. vi. 44. " Whatsoever is done among them is false : how may it then be thought or said *that they are gods* ?"

Ver. 901. — *and varnish'd colours failing,*]

Thus, in his *Prose-Works*, vol. i. p. 161. ed. 1698, he says— " *painting* his lewd and deceitful principles with a smooth and glossy *varnish* in a doctrinall way, to bring about his wickedest purposes." I apprehend that Milton might employ the expression, in allusion to St. James's description of the tongue, which is called ὁ ΚΟΣΜΟΣ τῆς ἀδικίας, " the *varnish* of iniquity," as it should be rendered. See Wetstein in *Jac.* iii. 6.

Towards thee I intend for what I have misdone,
 Misguided ; only what remains past cure
 Bear not too sensibly, nor still insist
 To afflict thyself in vain : though fight be lost,
 Life yet hath many solaces, enjoy'd 915
 Where other senses want not their delights
 At home in leisure and domestick ease,
 Exempt from many a care and chance, to which
 Eye-sight exposes daily men abroad.
 I to the Lords will intercede, not doubting 920
 Their favourable ear, that I may fetch thee
 From forth this loathsome prison-house, to abide
 With me, where my redoubled love and care
 With nursing diligence, to me glad office,
 May ever tend about thee to old age 925
 With all things grateful cheer'd, and so supplied,
 That, what by me thou hast lost, thou least shalt
 miss.

Samf. No, no ; of my condition take no care ;
 It fits not ; thou and I long since are twain :
 Nor think me so unwary or accurs'd, 930
 To bring my feet again into the snare
 Where once I have been caught : I know thy
 trains,
 Though dearly to my cost, thy gins, and toils ;
 Thy fair enchanted cup, and warbling charms,

Ver. 934. *Thy fair enchanted cup, and warbling charms,*] Alluding, no doubt, to the story of Circe and the Syrens : but did not our author's fondness for Greek learning make him here forget that it is a little out of character to represent Samson

No more on me have power ; their force is null'd ;
 So much of adder's wisdom I have learn'd, 936
 To fence my ear against thy forceries.

If in my flower of youth and strength, when all
 men

Lov'd, honour'd, fear'd me, thou alone could'st
 hate me 939

Thy husband, flight me, fell me, and forego me ;
 How wouldst thou use me now, blind, and
 thereby

Deceivable, in most things as a child
 Helpless, thence easily condemn'd, and scorn'd,
 And last neglected ? How would'st thou insult,
 When I must live uxorious to thy will 945
 In perfect thralldom, how again betray me,
 Bearing my words and doings to the Lords
 To gloss upon, and, censuring, frown or smile ?

acquainted with the mythology of that country ? It seems the more odd, as the allusion to the adder, immediately following, is taken from Scripture. THYER.

He might as well be supposed to know the story of Circe and the Syrens, as of Tantalus &c. before, v. 500 : and there is no more impropriety in the one than in the other. NEWTON.

Mr. Thyer's observation is, however, just ; and doctor Johnson has not forgotten to notice the impropriety of all these allusions. Mr. Glasse, in his translation, and Mr. Penn, in his alteration, of this tragedy, have omitted these objectionable passages.

Ver. 936. *So much of adder's wisdom I have learn'd,*] The allusion is to *Psalms* lviii. 4, 5. " They are like the deaf adder, that stoppeth her ear ; which will not hearken to the voice of charmers, charming never so wisely." NEWTON.

This jail I count the house of liberty
To thine, whose doors my feet shall never enter.

Dal. Let me approach at least, and touch thy
hand. 951

Samf. Not for thy life, lest fierce remembrance
wake

My sudden rage to tear thee joint by joint.
At distance I forgive thee; go with that;
Bewail thy fallhood, and the pious works 955
It hath brought forth to make thee memorable
Among illustrious women, faithful wives!
Cherish thy hasten'd widowhood with the gold
Of matrimonial treason! so farewell.

Dal. I see thou art implacable, more deaf 960

Ver. 953. ———— *to tear thee joint by joint.*] Milton perhaps recollected blind Polymestor's desire of revenge upon Hecuba, in the play of that name by Euripides, v. 1125. ed. Barnes.

——— ἐπὶ πῶ δ', ἴν' ἀρπάσας χερσὶν
Διασπᾶσθαι καὶ καδαιμάξω χροῶ.

Ver. 956. ———— *to make thee memorable*

Among illustrious women, faithful wives!] This irony may have been suggested by Homer, speaking of Clytemnestra, *Odysf.* x.

——— ἥ δ' ἐξοχα λόγῳ εἰδυῖα,
Ἦντι κατ' αἶσχος ἔχεν, καὶ ἰσσομένησιν ἐπίσσω
Θηλυτέρῃσι γυναιξί.

Ver. 960. *I see thou art implacable, &c.*] Dryden has transferred the simile into his *Aureng-zebe*, A. i. S. i.—The same classical allusion is introduced in Glapthorne's *Albertus Wallensteth*, 1640. A. iv. S. i.

“ I am deaf, inexorable as seas

“ To the prayers of mariners, when their sinking keel

“ Is drunk with billowes.”

To prayers, than winds and seas; yet winds to
seas

Are reconcil'd at length, and sea to shore:

Thy anger, unappeasable, still rages,

Eternal tempest, never to be calm'd.

Why do I humble thus myself, and, suing 965

For peace, reap nothing but repulse and hate?

Bid go with evil omen, and the brand

Of infamy upon my name denounc'd?

To mix with thy concernments I desist 969

Henceforth, nor too much disapprove my own.

Fame, if not double-fac'd, is double-mouth'd,

And with contráry blast proclaims most deeds;

On both his wings, one black, the other white,

Bears greatest names in his wild aery flight.

Ver. 972. *And with contráry blast*] The old accent on *contráry*. Thus in Harington's *Orl. Fur.* 1607. p. 217. *

"From which (it seem'd) now she did so vary,

"As she had rather done the quite *contráry*."

And in Habington's *Castara*, 1635. p. 116.

"By vertue of a cleane *contráry* gale."

Ver. 973. *On both his wings, one black, the other white,
Bears greatest names in his wild aery flight.*] I think Fame has passed for a goddess ever since Hesiod deified her, *Egy.* 763. Milton makes her a *god*, I know not why, unless secundum eos, qui dicunt utriusque sexus participationem habere numina. So, in his *Lycidas*, he says (unless it be a false print)

"So may some gentle *Muse*

"With lucky words favour my destin'd urn,

"And as *he* passies turn;"

where *Muse* in the masculine for *poet* is very bold.

My name perhaps among the circumcis'd 975
 In Dan, in Judah, and the bordering tribes,
 To all posterity may stand defam'd,
 With malediction mention'd, and the blot
 Of falshood most unconjugal traduc'd.
 But in my country, where I most desire, 980
 In-Ecron, Gaza, Asdod, and in Gath,
 I shall be nam'd among the famoussest
 Of women; sung at solemn festivals,
 Living and dead recorded, who, to save
 Her country from a fierce destroyer, chose 985
 Above the faith of wedlock-bands; my tomb
 With odours visited and annual flowers;

Perhaps it should here also be,

“ Bears greatest names in his *wild* aery flight.”

What Milton says of *Fame's* bearing great names on his wings, seems to be partly from Horace, *Od.* II. ii. 7.

“ Illum aget penna metuente solvi

“ *Fama superstes.*” JORTIN.

I apprehend that *wild* is full as applicable as *wide* to the character and office of *Fame*. And thus Shakspeare, *Othello*, A. ii. S. i.

“ That paragons description, and *wild Fame.*”

Ver. 986. ————— my tomb

With odours visited and annual flowers;] What is said in Scripture of the daughter of Jephtha, *that the daughters of Israel went yearly to lament her*, seems to imply that this solemn and periodical visitation of the tombs of eminent persons was an eastern custom. THYER.

So it is said afterwards of Samson,

“ The virgins also shall, on feastful days,

“ Visit his tomb with flowers.” NEWTON.

Not less renown'd than in mount Ephraim
 Jael, who with inhospitable guile
 Smote Sifera sleeping, through the temples nail'd.
 Nor shall I count it heinous to enjoy 991
 The publick marks of honour and reward,
 Conferr'd upon me, for the piety
 Which to my country I was judg'd to have shown.

This affectionate custom of decorating the tombs of departed friends, has descended to later times. See the *Iphigenia in Tauris* of Euripides, v. 632, ed. Barnes. It still exists in some parts of this island. Shakspeare alludes to it in *Cymbeline*, A. iv. S. v.

—————" with fairest flowers,
 " Whilst summer lasts, and I live here, Fidele,
 " I'll sweeten thy sad grave."

Whence Collins, with remarkable taste and pathos ;

" To fair Fidele's grassy tomb,
 " Soft maids, and village hinds, shall bring
 " Each opening sweet of earliest bloom,
 " And rife all the blooming spring."

I take this opportunity of observing, that Collins may probably have been indebted to a fine passage in Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Lover's Progress*, A. iv. S. i.

—————" I will kneel by him,
 " And on his hallow'd earth do my last duties :
 " I'll gather all the pride of Spring to deck him ;
 " Woodbines shall grow upon his honour'd grave,
 " And, as they prosper, clasp, to show our friendship ;
 " And, when they wither, I'll die too."

Ver. 988. *Not less renown'd than in mount Ephraim*
Jael,] Jael is celebrated in the noble song of
 Deborah and Barak, *Judg.* v. And Deborah dwelt between
 Ramah and Bethel in mount Ephraim, *Judg.* iv. 5. NEWTON.

At this whoever envies or repines, 995
I leave him to his lot, and like my own. [*Exit.*]

Chor. She's gone, a manifest serpent by her
sting

Discover'd in the end, till now conceal'd.

Samf. So let her go; God sent her to debase me,
And aggravate my folly, who committed 1000
To such a viper his most sacred trust
Of secrecy, my safety, and my life.

Chor. Yet beauty, though injurious, hath
strange power,

After offence returning, to regain
Love once possess'd, nor can be easily 1005
Repuls'd, without much inward passion felt
And secret sting of amorous remorse.

Samf. Love-quarrels oft in pleasing concord
end,

Ver. 995. *And this whoever envies or repines,
I leave him to his lot, and like my own.*] Teucer
to the Chorus in Sophocles's *Ajax*, v. 1060.

"Ὅτι δὲ μὴ τὰδ' ἐστὶν ἐν γνώμῃ φίλα,
Κεῖνος τ' ἐκείνα σιγγέτω, καὶ γὰρ τὰδὲ. CALTON.

Ver. 997. ——— a manifest serpent by her sting] The
Son of Sirach makes a similar observation on "an evil wife,"
Ecclus xxvi. 7. "He that hath hold of her is as though he held
a scorpion."

Ver. 1003. *Yet beauty, though injurious, hath strange power,
&c.*] This truth Milton has finely exemplified in Adam for-
giving Eve, and he had full experience of it in his own case.
See note on *Par. Lost*, B. x. 940. NEWTON.

Ver. 1008. *Love-quarrels oft in pleasing concord end,*] Te-
rence, *Andria*, iii. iii. 23.

"Amantium iræ, amoris integratio est." NEWTON.

Not wedlock-treachery endangering life. 1009

Chor. It is not virtue, wisdom, valour, wit,
Strength, comeliness of shape, or amplest merit,
That woman's love can win or long inherit;
But what it is, hard is to say,
Harder to hit,

(Which way soever men refer it,) 1015

Much like thy riddle, Samson, in one day
Or seven, though one should musing fit.

If any of these, or all, the Timnian bride
Had not so soon preferr'd 1019
Thy paranymp, worthless to thee compar'd,

Ver. 1010. *It is not virtue, &c.*] However just the observation may be, that Milton, in his *Paradise Lost*, seems to court the favour of the female sex, it is very certain, that he did not carry the same complaisance into this performance. What the Chorus here says, outgoes the very bitterest satire of Euripides, who was called the *woman-bater*. It may be said indeed in excuse, that the occasion was very provoking, and that these reproaches are rather to be looked upon, as a sudden start of resentment, than cool and sober reasoning. *THYER.*

These reflections are the more severe, as they are not spoken by Samson, who might be supposed to utter them out of pique and resentment, but are delivered by the Chorus as serious and important truths. But, by all accounts, Milton himself had suffered some uneasiness through the temper and behaviour of two of his wives; and no wonder therefore that, upon so tempting an occasion as this, he indulges his spleen a little, depreciates the qualifications of the women, and asserts the superiority of the men; and, to give these sentiments the greater weight, puts them into the mouth of the Chorus. *NEWTON.*

Ver. 1020. *Thy paranymp,*] *Bride-man.* "But Samson's wife was given to *his companion*, whom he had used as his friend," *Judg.* xiv. 20. *RICHARDSON.*

Successour in thy bed,
 Nor both so loosely disallied
 Their nuptials, nor this last so treacherously
 Had shorn the fatal harvest of thy head.
 Is it for that such outward ornament 1025
 Was lavish'd on their sex, that inward gifts
 Were left for haste unfinish'd, judgement scant,
 Capacity not rais'd to apprehend
 Or value what is best
 In choice, but ofttest to affect the wrong? 1030
 Or was too much of self-love mix'd,
 Of constancy no root infix'd,
 That either they love nothing, or not long?
 What'er it be, to wisest men and best 1034

The *paranymph* is an old English word: Thus in *Quodlibets of Religion and State*, 1602, p. 204. "Our blessed Ladies *paranimphe* Saint Gabriell." And thus in Drummond's Pageants, *Jove*, ver. 29. "Thou shalt no *paranymph* raise to high place." Where *paranymph* has a different meaning, namely, that of an *abettor* or *supporter*.

For Milton's *paranymph*, see *John* iii. 29. It was usual, at the marriage-feasts of the Jews, to have a select company of young men to keep the bridegroom company, and to conduct the bride to the bridegroom's house. Selden has devoted a whole chapter to an inquiry into their office, in which he notices the *Bride-knights* of the English, *Uxor Ebraica*, B. ii.

Ver. 1034. ————— to wisest men and best] Read "to the wisest man." See the following expressions—"in his way" —"draws him awry." MEADOWCOURT.

We have such a change of the number in the *Par. Lost*, B. ix. 1183.

————— "in women overtrusting,
 "Lets her will rule; restraint she will not brook, &c."

Seeming at first all heavenly under virgin veil,
 Soft, modest, meek, demure,
 Once join'd, the contrary she proves, a thorn
 Intestine, far within defensive arms 1038
 A cleaving mischief, in his way to virtue

and we justified it there by a similar instance from Terence.

NEWTON.

Ver. 1035. ————— *under virgin veil,*] Perhaps Milton here alludes to the Jewish virgins, who, being kept secluded from the sight of men, were called *Hidden* or *Concealed*; and, when they were first presented to their husbands, covered their heads *with a veil*.—But see his *Doct. and Discip. of Divorce*, B. i. chap. 3; where he is speaking of the disappointments which *may* happen, in choosing a wife, to “the sober man honouring the appearance of modesty, and hoping well of every social virtue *under the veil*.”

Ver. 1038. ————— *far within defensive arms*] An early edition of Tonson's had printed “*war* within defensive arms,” which Tickell and Fenton have also followed, and most of the succeeding editions, before that of doctor Newton.

Ver. 1039. *A cleaving mischief,*] These words allude to the poisoned shirt sent to Hercules by his wife Deianira.

MEADOWCOURT.

So Dryden thought, *Aureng-zebe*, A. ii. S. i.

“When we lay next us what we hold most dear,

“*Like Hercules, envenom'd shirts we wear,*

“And CLEAVING MISCHIEFS.”

Milton, in his *Doct. and Discip. of Divorce*, speaks of “the blessing of matrimony changed not seldom into a *co-inhabiting mischief*.” Pref, lib. i.

Ibid, ————— *in his way to virtue*

Adverse and turbulent,] This is the sentiment of the *woman-hater*, Euripides:

Αἰὶν γυναῖκας ἑμποδὸν ταῖς συμφοραῖς

Ἔφουσαν ἀνδρῶν, πρὸς τὸ δυσχερῆσαι, *Orest.* v. 604.

Adverse and turbulent, or by her charms 1040
 Draws him awry enslav'd
 With dotage, and his sense deprav'd
 To folly and shameful deeds which ruin ends.
 What pilot so expert but needs must wreck
 Imbark'd with a such a steers-mate at the helm?
 Favour'd of Heaven, who finds 1046
 One virtuous, rarely found,
 That in domestick good combines:
 Happy that house! his way to peace is smooth:
 But virtue, which breaks through all opposition,
 And all temptation can remove, 1051
 Most shines, and most is acceptable above.
 Therefore God's universal law
 Gave to the man despotick power
 Over his female in due awe, 1055
 Nor from that right to part an hour,
 Smile she or lour:
 So shall he least confusion draw

Ver. 1046. *Favour'd of Heaven, who finds &c.*] If Milton, like Solomon and the Son of Sirach, satirises the women in general, like them too he commends the virtuous and good; and esteems a good wife a blessing from the Lord. See *Prov.* xviii. 22, xix. 14, and *Ecclus.* xxvi. 1, 2. NEWTON.

But he harshly esteems such an one a *rarity*, like the severe Grecian in his *Alceste*, v. 472—5. edit. Barnes. Yet Euripides has condescended to commend a *happy match*; and the language is not dissimilar to this passage of Milton:

Γάμοι δ' ὅσοις μὲν εὖ καθεύδουσιν βροτῶν,
 Μακάριος αἰὼν· οἷς δὲ μὴ πάντεςιν εὖ
 Τῶ τ' ἔνδοι εἰσι, τότε δύραζε δυσυχεῖς,

On his whole life, not fway'd
By female ufurpation, or difmay'd. 1060
But had we beft retire? I fee a ftorm.

Samf. Fair days have oft contracted wind and
rain.

Chor. But this another kind of tempeft brings.

Samf. Be lefs abftrufe, my riddling days are
paff. 1064

Chor. Look now for no enchanting voice, nor
fear

The bait of honied words; a rougher tongue

Ver. 1061. *But had we beft retire,*] Read

“ But *we had* beft retire—”

or

“ But *had n't we* beft retire”— SYMPSON.

Ver. 1065. *Look now for no enchanting voice,*] Euripides,
Medea v. 773;

——— δειχου δὲ μὴ πρὸς ἡδονὴν λόγους.

Ver. 1066. *The bait of honied words;*] So, in *the Tragedie*
of Dido, by Marlowe and Nafh, 1594.

——— “ Vlyffes on the fand

“ Affay'd with *honey words* to turne them backe.”

But, as Dr. Johnson objects to *honied*, I will fhew that it was
a common term in our old poetry: Thus in G. Wither's *Fidelia*,
1622.

“ His *honied words*, his bitter lamentations.”

Thus alfo Shakfpeare, *K. Hen. V.* A. i. S. i.

——— “ his fweet and *honied sentences*.”

And Randolph's *Ariftippus*, 1662. Prologue:

“ No candied flattery, nor *honied words*.”

The phrafe “ *Mellitos verborum globulos*,” is in Petronius
Arbiter; and Milton has, “ *Mellitæſque preces*,” *Eleg.* V. 68.
The expreffion is frequent in Greek; and Taſſo, in his *Aminata*,

As these perhaps, yet wish it had not been,
 Though for no friendly intent. I am of Gath ;
 Men call me Harapha, of stock renown'd
 As Og, or Anak, and the Emims old 1080
 That Kiriathaim held ; thou know'st me now,
 If thou at all art known. Much I have heard
 Of thy prodigious might and feats perform'd,
 Incredible to me, in this displeas'd,
 That I was never present on the place 1085
 Of those encounters, where we might have tried
 Each other's force in camp or list'd field ;
 And now am come to see of whom such noise

Ver. 1079. *Men call me Harapha, &c.*] This character is fictitious, but is properly introduced by the poet, and not without some foundation in Scripture. *Arapha*, or rather *Rapha*, (says Calmet) was father of the giants of *Rephaim*. The word *Rapha* may likewise signify simply a giant.

Of stock renown'd as Og ; for Og, the king of Bashan, was of the race of the *Rephaim*, whose bed was nine cubits long, and four broad, *Deut. iii. 11.*

Or Anak, the father of the *Anakims*, and the *Emims old*, *Deut. ii. 10, 11.* " *a people great, and many, and tall as the Anakims ; which also were accounted giants or Rephaim, as the Anakims, but the Moabites call them Emims.*"

That Kiriathaim held, for *Gen. xiv. 5.* " *Chedorlaomer, and the kings that were with him, smote the Rephaims in Ashteroth Karnaim, and the Zuzims in Ham, and the Emims in Shaveh Kiriathaim,*" or the plain of Kiriathaim. NEWTON.

Ver. 1081. ————— *thou know'st me now,*

If thou at all art known.] He is made to speak in the spirit and almost in the language of Satan, *Par. Lost*, B. iv. 830.

" Not to know me argues yourselves unknown."

NEWTON.

Hath walk'd about, and each limb to survey,
If thy appearance answer loud report. 1090

Samf. The way to know were not to see but
taste.

Har. Dost thou already fingle me? I thought
Gyves and the mill had tam'd thee. O that fortune
Had brought me to the field, where thou art
fam'd 1094

To have wrought such wonders with an afs's jaw!
I should have forc'd thee soon with other arms,
Or left thy carcass where the afs lay thrown:
So had the glory of prowess been recover'd
To Palestine, won by a Philistine, 1099
From the unforeskin'd race, of whom thou bear'st
The highest name for valiant acts; that honour,
Certain to have won by mortal duel from thee,

Ver. 1093. *Gyves*] Chains. So, in *Cymbeline*, A. v. S. iii,

————— "Must I repent?"

"I cannot do it better than in *gyves*."

And in Fairfax's *Tasso*, B. v. ft. 42.

"These hands were made to shake sharp spears and swords,

"Not to be tied in *gyves* &c." NEWTON.

Ver. 1102. ————— by mortal duel] An allusion to
the old *Duella* or fingle combat. See note on v. 1226. So
Drayton uses the word in his *David and Goliath*, where Saul tells
David, that Goliath was "expert in all to *duels* that belong." See also *Par. Reg.* B. i. 174. Samson calls it "the trial of *mortal*
fight," v. 1175; which is another phrase in chivalry. Thus in
Groue's *Hist. of Pessivratius and Catanea*, 1587, bl. l. of a combat:

"The heralds' sownd displayd,

"The courfers meete with speares, &c.

"And thus the *mortall fight*."

I lose, prevented by thy eyes put out.

Samf. Boast not of what thou would'st have done, but do

What then thou would'st; thou seest it in thy hand. 1105

Har. To combat with a blind man I disdain,
And thou hast need much washing to be touch'd.

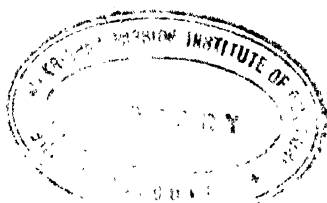
Samf. Such usage as your honourable lords
Afford me, assassinated and betray'd,
Who durst not with their whole united powers
In fight withstand me single and unarm'd, 1111
Nor in the house with chamber-ambushes
Close-banded durst attack me, no, not sleeping,
Till they had hir'd a woman with their gold
Breaking her marriage-faith to circumvent me.
Therefore, without feign'd shifts, let be assign'd
Some narrow place enclos'd, where fight may
give thee, 1117

Or rather flight, no great advantage on me;
Then put on all thy gorgeous arms, thy helmet
And brigandine of brass, thy broad habergeon,

Ver. 1113. *Close-banded*] Here in the sense of *secretly leagued*, according to Dr. Johnson; rather than in its usual acceptation of *thick-ranged*.

Ver. 1120. *And brigandine of brass, &c.*] *Brigandine*, a coat of mail. *Jer.* xlvi. 4. "Furbish the spears, and put on the *brigandines*." See also li. 3. *Habergeon*, a coat of mail for the neck and shoulders, *Faer. Qu.* ii. vi. 29.

"Their mighty strokes their *habergeons* dismail'd,
"And naked made each others manly spalles:"



Vant-brace and greves, and gauntlet, add thy
spear, 1121

A weaver's beam, and seven-times-folded shield;
I only with an oaken staff will meet thee,
And raise such outcries on thy clatter'd iron,
Which long shall not withhold me from thy
head, 1125

That in a little time, while breath remains thee,

Spalles, that is, shoulders. And Fairfax, B. i. st. 72.

“ Some shirts of mail, some coats of plate put on,
——— “ and some a *habergeon*.”

Vantbrace, avant-bras, armour for the arms. So, in *Troil. and Cress.* A. i. S. vi. Nestor speaks:

“ I'll hide my silver beard in a gold beaver,
“ And in my *vantbrace* put this wither'd brawn.”

And Fairfax, B. xx. st. 139.

“ His shield was pierc'd, his *vantbrace* cleft and spilt.”

Greves, armour for the legs. I *Sam.* xvii. 6. “ And he had *greves* of brass upon his legs.” *Gauntlet*, an iron glove. *Hen. IV.* P. 2. A. i. S. iii. Old Northumberland speaks:

——— “ Hence therefore, thou nice crutch;
“ A scaly *gauntlet* now with joints of steel
“ Must glove this hand.” NEWTON.

Ver. 1121. ———— add *thy spear*,] This is Milton's own reading: The other editions have “ and thy spear,” which is not so proper; for it cannot well be said in construction, *put on thy spear*. NEWTON.

The reviser of Tonson's edition in 1747 had attended to the poet's text; as it reads “ add thy spear.”

Ver. 1122. *A weaver's beam*,] As Goliath's was, I *Sam.* xvii. 7, and his brother's, II *Sam.* xxi. 19. And *seven-times-folded shield*, as was Ajax's “ *clipei dominus septemplexis*,” Ajax, Ovid, *Met.* xiii. 2. NEWTON.

Thou oft shalt with thyself at Gath, to boast
Again in safety what thou would'st have done
To Samson, but shalt never see Gath more.

Har. Thou durst not thus disparage glorious
arms, 1130

Which greatest heroes have in battle worn,
Their ornament and safety, had not spells
And black enchantments, some magician's art,
Arm'd thee or charm'd thee strong, which thou
from Heaven

Feign'dst at thy birth, was given thee in thy hair,
Where strength can least abide, though all thy
hairs 1136

Ver. 1134. *Arm'd thee or charm'd thee strong,*] Mr. Thyer here observes, It is very probable that Milton adopted this notion from the Italian Epicks, who are very full of enchanted arms, and sometimes represent their heroes invulnerable by this art. But, as Mr. Warton remarks, the poet's idea is immediately and particularly taken from the ritual of the combat in chivalry. See note on *Comus*, v. 647.—Samson replies,

“ I know no spells, use no forbidden arts ;

“ My trust is in the living God ”—

Here, it must be observed, is a direct allusion to the oath taken, before the judges of the combat, by the champions—“ I do swear, that I have not upon me, nor on any of the *arms* I shall use, words, *charms*, or *enchantments*, to which I trust for help to conquer my enemy, but that *I do only trust in God*, in my right, and in the strength of my body and arms.” Cockburn's *Hist. of Duels*, p. 115. The poet here says “ *black enchantments*,” in like manner as Machin, introducing the same oath in his *Dumb Knight*, 1633. “ Here you shall swear &c.

“ That here you stand not *arm'd* with any guile

“ Of philters, *charms*, of night-spells, characters,

“ And other *black* infernal 'vantages.’”

Were bristles rang'd like those that ridge the back
Of chaf'd wild boars, or ruffled porcupines.

Samf. I know no spells, use no forbidden arts;
My trust is in the living God, who gave me 1140
At my nativity this strength, diffus'd
No less through all my sinews, joints, and bones,
Than thine, while I preserv'd these locks unshorn,
The pledge of my unviolated vow.
For proof hereof, if Dagon be thy God, 1145
Go to his temple, invoke his aid
With solemnest devotion, spread before him
How highly it concerns his glory now
To frustrate and dissolve these magick spells,
Which I to be the power of Israel's God 1150
Avow, and challenge Dagon to the test,
Offering to combat thee his champion bold,
With the utmost of his Godhead seconded:
Then thou shalt see, or rather, to thy sorrow, 1154
Soon feel, whose God is strongest, thine or mine.

Har. Presume not on thy God, whate'er he be;
Thee he regards not, owns not, hath cut off
Quite from his people, and deliver'd up
Into thy enemies' hand, permitted them 1159
To put out both thine eyes, and fetter'd send thee
Into the common prison, there to grind

Ver. 1138. ——— or *ruffled porcupines.*] Who
can doubt that Milton here had Shakspeare in mind? *Hamlet*,
A. i. S. viii.

“ And each particular hair to stand on end,

“ Like quills upon the fretful porcupine.” NEWTON.

Among the slaves and asses thy comrâdes,
 As good for nothing else ; no better service
 With those thy boisterous locks, no worthy match
 For valour to assail, nor by the sword 1165
 Of noble warriour, so to stain his honour,
 But by the barber's razor best subdued.

Samf. All these indignities, for such they are
 From thine, these evils I deserve, and more,
 Acknowledge them from God inflicted on me 1170
 Justly, yet despair not of his final pardon,
 Whose ear is ever open, and his eye
 Gracious to re-admit the suppliant :
 In confidence whereof I once again
 Defy thee to the trial of mortal fight, 1175
 By combat to decide whose God is God,
 Thine, or whom I with Israel's sons adore.

Har. Fair honour that thou dost thy God, in
 trusting
 He will accept thee to defend his cause,
 A Murderer, a Revolter, and a Robber ! 1180

Samf. Tongue-doughty Giant, how dost thou
 prove me these ?

Ver. 1162. ————— *thy comrâdes,*] With the
 accent upon the last syllable as in *Hen. IV.* P. i. A. iv. S. ii.

“ And his *comrâdes* that daft the world aside,

“ And bid it pass.”, NEWTON.

Ver. 1164. *With those thy boisterous locks,*] He uses *boisterous*
 in the same manner in his *Prose-Works*, vol. 1. ed. 1698, p. 411.
 “ A *boisterous* and bestial strength.” So, in ver. 569, Samson's
 locks are called *robustious*.

Har. Is not thy nation subject to our lords?
 Their magistrates confess'd it, when they took thee
 As a league-breaker, and deliver'd bound
 Into our hands: for hadst thou not committed 1185
 Notorious murder on those thirty men
 At Ascalon, who never did thee harm,
 Then like a robber stripp'dst them of their robes?
 The Philistines, when thou hadst broke the league,
 Went up with armed powers thee only seeking,
 To others did no violence nor spoil. 1191

Samf. Among the daughters of the Philistines
 I chose a wife, which argued me no foe;
 And in your city held my nuptial feast:
 But your ill-meaning politician lords, 1195
 Under pretence of bridal friends and guests,

Ver. 1181. Tongue-doughty *Giant*,] Doughty, that is, *valiant*. See Skinner. *Θρασύδηνος*, Æschylus, *Septem contra Thebas*, v. 617. RICHARDSON.

Compare Beaumont and Fletcher's *Pilgrim*, A. ii. S. iii.

"Leave your *tongue-valor*, and dispatch your haste."

And *The Castle Combat*, 1635.

"Thou art nothing but *tongue-courage*, now I see."

Ver. 1188. ——— *stripp'dst them of their robes?*] In the text of the Bible it is "took their *spoil*," but in the margin "*apparel*." It has been supposed, that it was at some festival, either in the fields or in the city, when great companies met together, and appeared in their best apparel.

Ver. 1196. Under pretence of *bridal friends*] The attendant young men at Samson's marriage, are said to have belonged to his wife's family, and not to have been, as was usual, his own relations or acquaintance. Josephus relates that, *under the pretence of honour*, they sent these thirty companions to watch over

Appointed to await me thirty spies,
Who, threatening cruel death, constrain'd the
 bride

To wring from me, and tell to them, my secret,
That solv'd the riddle which I had propos'd. 1200
When I perceiv'd all set on enmity,
As on my enemies, wherever chanc'd,
I us'd hostility, and took their spoil,
To pay my underminers in their coin.
My nation was subjected to your lords; 1205
It was the force of conquest; force with force
Is well ejected when the conquer'd can.
But I, a private person, whom my country
As a league-breaker gave up bound, presum'd

him, lest he should commit any disturbance. Quarles, in his *Hist. of Samson*, 1632, p. 307, follows this notion :

“ They therefore, to prevent ensuing harmes,
“ Gave strict command, that thirty men of armes,
“ *Under the maske of bridemen*, should attend
“ Vntill the nuptiall ceremonies end.”

Ibid. ———— *bridal friends*] The substantive *bridal* is Saxon for *the nuptial feast*. See a variety of curious illustrations in Warton's *Hist of Eng. Poetry*, vol. iii. p. 128, note f. Where the learned and ingenious writer observes, that the word has been applied adjectively, for *connubial*, and that Milton perhaps remembered or retained its original use in this passage,

“ Under pretence of *bridal friends* —”

that is, “ Under, pretence of friends and guests invited to the *bridal*.” But he adds, that Milton, in *Par. Lost*, speaks of the evening star hastening to light the “ *bridal lamp*,” which in another part of the same poem he calls the “ *nuptial torch*.” B. viii. 520, B. xi. 590.

Single rebellion, and did hostile acts. 1210
 I was no private, but a person rais'd
 With strength sufficient, and command from
 Heaven,
 To free my country ; if their servile minds
 Me, their deliverer sent, would not receive,
 But to their masters gave me up for nought, 1215
 The unworthier they ; whence to this day they
 serve.

I was to do my part from Heaven assign'd,
 And had perform'd it, if my known offence
 Had not disabled me, not all your force :
 These shifts refuted, answer thy appellant, 1220
 Though by his blindness maim'd for high at-
 tempts,

Who now defies thee thrice to single fight,
 As a petty enterprize of small enforce.

Har. With thee ! a man condemn'd, a slave
 inroll'd,

Ver. 1220. ————— *answer thy appellant,*] Thy
challenger. The *defendant*, in like manner, signifies the *person*
challenged. Thus, in Shakspeare's *K. Hen. VI.* P. ii. A. ii.
 S. iii.

“ This is the day appointed for the combat ;

“ And ready are the *appellant* and *defendant*,

“ The armourer and his man.”

Ver. 1222. *Who now defies thee thrice*] This was the custom
 and the law of arms, to give the challenge and to sound the
 trumpet *thrice*. In allusion to the same practice Edgar appears,
 to fight with the Bastard, *by the third sound of the trumpet*,
K. Lear, A. v. S. vii. NEWTON.

Due by the law to capital punishment ! 1225

To fight with thee no man of arms will deign.

Samf. Can'st thou for this, vain boaster, to
survey me,

To descant on my strength, and give thy verdict ?

Come nearer ; part not hence so slight inform'd ;

But take good heed my hand survey not thee. 1230

Har. O Baal-zebub ! can my ears unus'd

Hear these dishonours, and not render death ?

Samf. No man withholds thee, nothing from
thy hand

Fear I incurable ; bring up thy van,

My heels are fetter'd, but my fist is free. 1235

Ver. 1226. *To fight with thee no man of arms will deign.*] Another allusion to the laws of the *Duello*, the old single-combat. " They are *not to be admitted proove by armes*, who haue committed any treason against their prince or countrie, &c. To these we may also adde freebooters, and all such as for any military disorder are banished. Likewise all thieves, robbers, ruffians, tauerne-hunters, excommunicate persons, hereticks, vsurers, and all other persons, not liuing as a gentleman or a souldier : and in conclusion, all such as are defamed for any defecte, and are not allowed for witnesses in Ciuile law, &c. And of these I saye that not onelye they are to bee refused vpon challenging another man, but all honourable persons or gentlemen should abandon their companye, and *whosoever should fight with them, should iniurie himselfe, making himselfe equall with dishonourable persons.*" Vincentio Saviolo, *Of Honor and honorable Quarrels*, interlaced with fundrie and pleasant discourses, not vnfit for all Gentlemen and Captaines that professe arms, Lond. 1595, 4to. chap. entitled, *Who is not to be admitted to the [Duello, or] proove of armes.*

Ver. 1231. *O Baal-zebub !*] He is properly made to invoke *Baal-zebub*, as afterwards to swear by *Astaroth* ; that is, the deities of the Philistines and neighbouring nations. NEWTON.

Har. This insolence other kind of answer fits.

Samf. Go, baffled coward! left I run upon thee,

Though in these chains, bulk without spirit vast,
And with one buffet lay thy structure low,
Or swing thee in the air, then dash thee down 1240
To the hazard of thy brains and shatter'd sides.

Har. By Astaroth, ere long thou shalt lament
These braveries, in irons loaden on thee. [*Exit.*]

Chor. His giantship is gone somewhat crest-fallen,

Stalking with less unconscionable strides, 1245
And lower looks, but in a sultry chafe.

Samf. I dread him not, nor all his giant-brood,
Though Fame divulge him father of five sons,
All of gigantick size, Goliath chief.

Chor. He will directly to the lords, I fear, 1250
And with malicious counsel stir them up
Some way or other yet further to afflict thee.

Samf. He must allege some cause, and offer'd
fight

Will not dare mention, lest a question rise

* Ver. 1248. *Though Fame divulge him*] So it plainly should be as Milton himself corrected it, and not *divulg'd* as it is in all the editions. NEWTON.

The error is corrected in Tonson's edit. of 1747.

Ibid. ——— *father of five sons, &c.*] The story of Goliath of Gath is very well known; and the other four are mentioned II *Sam.* xxi. 15—22. "These four were born to the giant [or to *Harapha*] in Gath, and fell by the hand of David, and by the hand of his servants." NEWTON.

Whether he durst accept the offer or not ; 1255
 And, that he durst not, plain enough appear'd.
 Much more affliction than already felt
 They cannot well impose, nor I sustain ;
 If they intend advantage of my labours,
 The work of many hands, which earns my
 keeping 1260

With no small profit daily to my owners.
 But come what will, my deadliest foe will prove
 My speediest friend, by death to rid me hence ;
 The worst that he can give, to me the best.
 Yet so it may fall out, because their end 1265
 Is hate, not help to me, it may with mine
 Draw their own ruin who attempt the deed.

Chor. Oh how comely it is, and how reviving
 To the spirits of just men long oppress'd !
 When God into the hands of their deliverer 1270
 Puts invincible might
 To quell the mighty of the earth, the oppressour,
 The brute and boisterous force of violent men,
 Hardy and industrious to support
 Tyrannick power, but raging to pursue 1275
 The righteous and all such as honour truth ;
 He all their ammunition
 And feats of war defeats,
 With plain heroick magnitude of mind
 And celestial vigour arm'd ; 1280
 * Their armouries and magazines contemns,
 Renders them useles ; while

With winged expedition,
 Swift as the lightning glance, he executes
 His errand on the wicked, who, surpris'd, 1285
 Lose their defence, distracted and amaz'd.

But patience is more oft the exercise
 Of faints, the trial of their fortitude,
 Making them each his own deliverer,
 And victor over all 1290
 That tyranny or fortune can inflict.
 Either of these is in thy lot,
 Samson, with might endued
 Above the sons of men; but fight bereav'd
 May chance to number thee with those 1295
 Whom patience finally must crown.

This idol's day hath been to thee no day of
 rest,
 Labouring thy mind
 More than the working day thy hands.
 And yet perhaps more trouble is behind, 1300
 For I descry this way
 Some other tending; in his hand
 A scepter or quaint staff he bears,
 Comes on amain, speed in his look.
 By his habit I discern him now 1305
 A publick officer, and now at hand;
 His message will be short and voluble.

Ver. 1284. *Swift as the lightning glance he executes*
His errand] So, in Shakspeare, *K. Rich. II.*

A. i. S. iii.

“ Be swift like *lightning* in the *execution*.”

[Enter] *Officer*.

Off. Hebrews, the prisoner Samson here I seek.

Chor. His manacles remark him, there he sits.

Off. Samson, to thee our lords thus bid me say;
This day to Dagon is a solemn feast, 1311
With sacrifices, triumph, pomp, and games:

Ver. 1309. ——— remark *him*,] *Distinguisß* him, point him out. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 1312. ——— triumph, pomp, and games:] *Triumphs* are *Shows*, such as masks, revels, &c. See *L'Allegro*, v. 119, and the note there. Bacon has an Essay, "*Of Masks and Triumphs*." Ess. xxxvii. And in his Essay, "*Of Buildings*," he directs a side of the house "for the Banquet, and a side for the Household: the one for Feasts and *Triumphs*, and the other for dwelling, &c." See also Ess. xlv. And in bishop Fysher's funeral or commemorative Sermon on Margaret countess of Richmond, edit. Baker, 1708, p. 29. "For when the kynge her son was crowned, in all that great *tryumphe* [show] and glorye, she wept merveilously; and lykewyse at the grete *tryumphe* of the marryage of prynce Arthur, &c." In the same sense we are to interpret Drayton, in the Epistle from king Edward to Jane Shore, vol. i. p. 331.

"Where thou shalt sit, and from thy state shalt see

"The tilts and *triumphs* that are done for thee."

In Beaumont and Fletcher's *Coronation*, A. ii. S. i.

"Let other princes boast their gaudy *tilting*

"And mockery of battles, but our *triumph*

"Is celebrated with true noble valour."

In Marlow's *Edw. II.* 1598. Reed's *Old Pl.* ii. 350.

"The idle *triumphes*, masks, lascivious shows,

"And prodigal gifts bestow'd on Gaveston."

See also Jonson, speaking of court-follies to be exhibited in a *Mask*, *Cynth.* Rev. A. iv. S. vi.

Thy strength they know surpassing human rate,
 And now some publick proof thereof require
 To honour this great feast, and great assembly; 1315
 Rise therefore with all speed, and come along,
 Where I will see thee hearten'd, and fresh clad,
 To appear as fits before the illustrious lords.

Samf. Thou know'st I am an Hebrew, there-
 fore tell them,
 Our Law forbids at their religious rites 1320

— “ Holding true intelligence what follies
 “ Had crept into her palace, shee resolv'd,
 “ Of *sports* and *triumphs* under the pretext,
 “ To have them muster'd in their *pomp* and fulnesse.”

And Shakspeare, *Midf. N. Dr.* A. i. S. i.

“ But I will wed thee in another key,
 “ With *pomp*, with *triumph*, and with revelling.”

Again, where a paraphrastick explanation of the word is added,
K. Hen. VI. P. iii. A. v. S. vii.

“ And now what rests, but that we spend the time
 “ With stately *triumphs*, mirthful comick shows,
 “ Such as befit the pleasures of the court.”

And thus we perceive the precise meaning of Falstaff's humour to
 Bardolph. “ O, thou art a perpetual *triumph*, an everlasting
 bonfire-light.” And thus we are to understand Milton here.

WARTON.

Ver. 1313. ———— *surpassing human rate*,] In the
 first edition it was printed *race*, but in the table of Errata we
 are desired to read *rate*. No wonder the first reading is followed
 in all the editions, when it is sense; for it would have been fol-
 lowed in all probability, though it had made nonsense.

NEWTON.

I must exempt from this remark the edition of Tonson in 1747,
 which reads “ *surpassing human rate*.”

My presence ; for that cause I cannot come.

Off. This answer, be assur'd, will not content them.

Samsf. Have they not sword-players, and every fort

Ver. 1323. *Have they not sword-players, &c.*] Milton has here introduced the usual attendants at the old Festivities of his own country. He here alludes perhaps, not without contempt, to the *holiday-sports*, so frequent in the early part of the seventeenth century, which were abolished by the puritans, but in part revived at the restoration of Charles II. See more on this subject in the note on v. 1418.

The *sword-players*, or gladiators, of the ancient stage, are often mentioned by Prynne in his *Histrion-mastix*, 1633. But Milton may mean *fencing-masters*, or professors of the "*noble science of defence*," who were accustomed to display their skill, on publick stages, in the exercise of various kinds of swords, and other weapons. See Mr. Steevens's Note on *Merry Wives of Windsor*. A. ii. S. i. Shakspeare, edit. 1793, vol. iii. p. 327.

The *gymnick artists* are perhaps those who distinguished themselves in the athletick exhibition of leaping, tumbling, and casting the bar, as well as of *wrestling*, *riding*, and *running*.

The *juglers* were anciently included under the general name of *minstrels*: and were so called from the French *jongleur*, *jugleur*, Lat. *joculator*, *juglator*. See Dr. Percy's Essay on the ancient Minstrels, Reliq. of Anc. Poetry, vol. i. They sang, to their instruments, verses composed by themselves or others. Cotgrave calls them "*rimers*." They are often mentioned by our old historians. The ancient *wrestlers*, *mimes*, *dancers*, *gladiators*, and *gymnick artists* also, "*tota jocularum scena*," are cited from John of Salisbury, in Warton's Hist. of Eng. Poetry, vol. ii. p. 205.

The *auticks* were buffoons in the old English farces, with a blacked face and a patch-work habit. See the commentators on *Much ado about Nothing*, A. iii. S. i. Milton illustrates the meaning of the word in his *Apol. Smeætymu*. "In the colleges so many of the young divines, and those in next aptitude to divinity, have bin scene so often upon the stage, writhing and

Of gymnicks artists, wrestlers, riders, runners,
Juglers, and dancers, anticks, mummers, mi-
micks,

1325

unboning their clergie-limbs to all the ANTICK and dishonest
gestures of *Trinculos*, *buffoons*, and bawds."

The *mummers* were a set of persons, who went about at Christmas, in disguise, to get money or good cheer. Thus in Stubbes's *Anatomie of Abuses*, bl. l. p. 111. b. "But especially in Christmas tyme there is nothing els vsed but Cardes, Dice, Tables, Maskyng, *Mumming*, Bowling, and such like fooleries." And Minshew says that the *mummers* were so called, because they made it a law among themselves, to say nothing but *mum*. See his *Guide into Tongues*, edit. 1627. They appear to have been once a very formidable crew, by a statute enacted in the third year of Henry the 8th, concerning them: "Forasmuch as lately within this realm, divers persons have disguised and apparelled themselves, and covered their faces with visors or other things, in such manner as they should not be known; and divers of them in a company, naming themselves *mummers*, have come to the dwelling place of divers men of honour and substantial persons, and so departed unknown; whereupon murders, felony, rape, and other great hurts and inconveniences have aforetime grown, and hereafter be like to come by colour thereof, if the said disorder should continue not reformed: Be it enacted &c." The punishment is fine and imprisonment. Mr. Warton, in his note on *Comus*, v. 178, says the *mummers* were called *wassailers*. In Wolfey's entertainment of Henry the 8th were introduced "masquers and *mummers*, in such costly manner, that it was glorious to behold." See Cavendish's *Mem. of Wolfey*, p. 31. The *masquers* probably spoke in character; the *mummers* perhaps used only signs. See Shakspere, *Coriol.* A. ii. S. i. "If you chance to be pinched with the colick, you make faces like MUMMERS." The *mummers* at Christmas still make their appearance in some parts of England, particularly in the North, both with recitation and in theatrick garb.

The *mimicks* were ludicrous characters on the stage, not unlike the *Vice* of the old English drama, according to Minshew. That

But they must pick me out, with shackles tir'd,
 And over-labour'd at their publick mill,
 To make them sport with blind activity ?
 Do they not seek occasion of new quarrels
 On my refusal to distress me more, 1330
 Or make a game of my calamities ?
 Return the way thou cam'st, I will not come.

Off. Regard thyself; this will offend them
 highly.

Samf. Myself? my conscience, and internal
 peace.

Can they think me so broken, so debas'd 1335

they were *actors* is evident from Dekker's *Gul's Horn-booke*, 1609, p. 31, where instruction is given "*How a gallant should bebaue himselfe in a Play-house*—No matter whether the scenes be good or no; the better they are, the worse doe you distast them: and, being on your feete, sneke not away like a coward, but salute all your gentle acquaintance, that are spread either on the rushes, or on stooles about you, and draw what troope you can from the stage after you: the *mimicks* are beholden to you, for allowing them elbow roome: their poet cries perhaps a pox go with you; but care not you for that; there's no musick without frets!"

In the first edition it is printed *mimirs*; and doctor Newton says, "What are *mimirs*? The table of Errata to the first edition hath set us right, instructing us to read *mimicks*; but not one of the editions hath followed it." Yet Tonson's edition of 1747 has followed it; and so has a Dublin edition, by Grierfon, in 1748. I think it curious to remark, that doctor Johnson has given *mimir* a place in his Dictionary, as if it were a word of authority.

Ver. 1333. *Off.* Regard thyself, this will offend them highly.

Samf. Myself? my conscience, and internal peace.

Can they think me so broken, &c.] Compare

the advice of Mercury to Prometheus, *Æschyl. Prom. Vinct.*
 v. 1041, edit. Schütz.

With corporal servitude, that my mind ever
 Will condescend to such absurd commands?
 Although their drudge, to be their fool or jester,
 And in my midst of sorrow and heart-grief
 To show them feats, and play before their God,
 The worst of all indignities, yet on me 1341
 Join'd with extreme contempt? I will not come.

Off. My message was impos'd on me with
 speed,

Brooks no delay: is this thy resolution?

Samf. So take it with what speed thy message
 needs. 1345

Off. I am sorry what this stoutness will pro-
 duce. [*Exit.*]

Samf. Perhaps thou shalt have cause to sorrow
 indeed.

— συ δὲ
 Πάπταινε καὶ φρόνιζε, μηδ' αὐθαδίαν
 ὑβουλίας ἀμείνῳι ἡγήσῃ ποτέ.

The Chorus commend the propriety of this advice; but Prometheus, unmoved, exhibits the same sternness as Samson:

Εἰδότες τοι μοὶ τὰς δ' ἀγγελίας
 Ὅδ' ἐθούζειν, πάτχῃν δὲ κακῶς
 Ἐχθρὸν ὑπ' ἰχθρῶν, αὐδὲν αἰεκέες. κ. τ. λ.

Vox. 1347. *Perhaps thou shalt have cause so sorrow indeed.]*
 Here the catastrophe is anticipated, as before v. 1266.

— “it may with mine
 “Draw their own ruin who attempt the deed.”

And such anticipations are usual with the best dramattick writers, who, knowing their own plan, open it by degrees, and drop such hints as cannot be perfectly comprehended, till they are fully ex-

Chor. Consider, Samson; matters now are
strain'd

Up to the highth, whether to hold or break :
He's gone, and who knows how he may report
Thy words by adding fuel to the flame ? 1351
Expect another message more imperious,
More lordly thundering than thou well wilt bear.

Samf. Shall I abuse this consecrated gift
Of strength, again returning with my hair 1355
After my great transgression, so requite
Favour renew'd, and add a greater sin
By prostituting holy things to idols ?
A Nazarite in place abominable
Vaunting my strength in honour to their Dagon !
Besides, how vile, contemptible, ridiculous, 1361
What act more execrably unclean, profane ?

Chor. Yet with this strength thou serv'st the
Philistines,
Idolatrous, uncircumcis'd, unclean.

Samf. Not in their idol-worship, but by labour
Honest and lawful to deserve my food 1366
Of those, who have me in their civil power.

Chor. Where the heart joins not, outward acts
defile not.

Samf. Where outward force constrains, the
sentence holds.

plained by the event. The speaker himself can only be supposed to have some general meaning, and not a distinct conception of all the particulars ; somewhat like the high-priest in the Gospel, who prophesied without his knowing it. NEWTON.

But who constrains me to the temple of Dagon,
 Not dragging? the Philistian lords command. 1371
 Commands are no constraints. If I obey them,
 I do it freely, venturing to displease
 God for the fear of Man, and Man prefer,
 Set God behind: which in his jealousy 1375
 Shall never, unrepented, find forgiveness.
 Yet that he may dispense with me, or thee,
 Present in temples at idolatrous rites
 For some important cause, thou need'st not doubt.

Chor. How thou wilt here come off surmounts
 my reach. 1380

Samf. Be of good courage; I begin to feel
 Some rousing motions in me, which dispose
 To something extraordinary my thoughts.
 I with this messenger will go along,

Ver. 1377. *Yet that he may dispense &c.*] Milton here probably had in view the story of Naaman the Syrian begging a *dispensation* of this sort from Elisha, which he seemingly grants him. See II *Kings* v. 18, 19. THYER.

Ver. 1384. *I with this messenger will go along,*] With what messenger? It was not expressly said before that the messenger was coming; it was implied indeed in what the Chorus had said,

“How thou wilt here come off surmounts my reach:”

And this might very well be understood by a man, who could see the messenger coming as well as the Chorus, but seems hardly a sufficient intimation to a blind man, unless we suppose him to know that the messenger was coming by the same impulse, that he felt rousing him to something extraordinary. NEWTON.

But the Chorus had also said, v. 1352, after the Officer is departed, “*Expect* another message more imperious, &c.” These words of Samson may perhaps be considered, therefore, as an *ex-*

Nothing to do, be sure, that may dishonour 1385
 Our Law, or stain my vow of Nazarite.
 If there be aught of presage in the mind,
 This day will be remarkable in my life
 By some great act, or of my days the last.

Chor. In time thou hast resolv'd, the man re-
 turns. 1390

Off. Samson, this second message from our lords
 To thee I am bid say. Art thou our slave,
 Our captive, at the publick mill our drudge,
 And dar'st thou at our sending and command
 Dispute thy coming? come without delay; 1395
 Or we shall find such engines to assail
 And hamper thee, as thou shalt come of force,
 Though thou wert firmlier fasten'd than a rock.

Samf. I could be well content to try their art,
 Which to no few of them would prove pernicious.
 Yet, knowing their advantages too many, 1401
 Because they shall not trail me through their streets
 Like a wild beast, I am content to go.
 Masters' commands come with a power resistless
 To such as owe them absolute subjection; 1405

pectation of the return of the Officer, and his determination how
 to act accordingly.

Ver. 1387. *If there be aught of presage in the mind,*] Euri-
 pides, *Andromache*, v. 1075.

——— ἀρέμαντις θυμὸς ὡς τὸ προσδοκᾷ.

Ver. 1404. *Master's commands &c.*] This was a feint; but
 it had betrayed itself had it not been covered by v. 1408.

“ Yet this be sure &c.” WARBURTON.

And for a life who will not changè his purpose ?
 (So mutable are all the ways of men ;)
 Yet this be fure, in nothing to comply
 Scandalous or forbidden in our Law.

Off. I praise thy resolution : doff these links :
 By this compliance thou wilt win the lords 1411
 To favour, and perhaps to set thee free.

Samf. Brethren, farewell ; your company along
 I will not with, lest it perhaps offend them
 To see me girt with friends ; and how the sight
 Of me, as of a common enemy, 1416
 So dreaded once, may now exasperate them,
 I know not : lords are lordlieft in their wine ;
 And the well-feasted priest then sooneft fir'd
 With zeal, if aught religion seem concern'd ; 1420
 No less the people, on their holy-days,
 Impetuous, insolent, unquenchable :

Ver. 1410. *I praise thy resolution :*] That is, of going ; not
 what he had said last. RICHARDSON.

Ibid. ————doff these links :] Put off these links.
 He uses this old word in his *Ode on the Nativ.* ver. 33. Thus
 Shakspere, *Troil. and Cress.* A. v. S. iii. “ Doff thy harness,
 youth.” And Spenser, *Faer. Qu.* v. vi. 23.

“ Ne doffe her armes, though he her much befought.”

Ver. 1418. ———— lords are lordlieft in their wine ;
And the well-feasted priest then sooneft fir'd
With zeal, if aught religion seem concern'd ;
No less the people, on their holy-days,

Impetuous, insolent, &c.] Milton here insinuates,
 that *holy-days* are of heathen institution. The passage is a con-
 cealed attack on the church of England. But he first expresses
 his contempt of a Nobility, and an opulent Clergy, that is,

Happen what may, of me expect to hear

Lords both spiritual and temporal, who by no means coincided with his levelling and narrow principles of republicanism and calvinism; and whom he tacitly compares with the lords and priests of the idol Dagon. WARTON.

In a passage concerning *holy-days*, he had before openly compared the Clergy to the "hireling priest Balaam, seeking to draw the Israelites from the sanctuary of God to the luxurious and ribald feasts of Baal-peor." *Of Reformation*, 1641, B. ii. This was written, while the controversy subsisted between the calvinists and the hierarchy, respecting the liberty which the book, published by the bishops in 1618, entitled "A Declaration to encourage Recreations and Sports on the Lord's Day," had given to the country-people, in the exercise of their rural diversions on Sundays after divine service, and on *holy-days*. These, says Mr. Warton, were Dancing, Archery, Leaping, Vaulting, and other similar harmless games. Prynne had pronounced the holy-day celebrities "a damnable custome taken from the Pagans," *Histrion-Mastix*, 1633, p. 222, and "*heathensh pastimes*," p. 240. Jonson points at these "*sower sort of shepherds*," it has been remarked, in his *Sad Shepherd*, 1640. A. i. S. iv.

"They call ours *Pagan pastimes*, that infect

"Our blood with ease, &c."

I cite the passage which precedes the comparison already given. "That men should be pluck't from their soberest and saddest thoughts, and *by bishops*, the pretended fathers of the Church, instigated *by publick edict* [The Book of Sports], and with earnest endeavour pusht forward to gaming, jiggling, wassailing, and mixt dancing, is a horror to think." *Of Ref.* ut supr. By the way, *mixt dancing* seems to have given great offence to the puritans: Stubbs, in his *Anatomie of Abuses*, had particularly noticed the *unlawfulness* of dauncing of men and women together," p. 103. b. And Prynne repeatedly reprobates "the *mixt dancing* at Church-Ales and Maypoles, &c." in his *Histrion-Mastix*. Hence we perceive the meaning in *Par. Loss*, B. iv. 768.

"court-amours,

"*Mix'd dance*, or wanton mask, or midnight ball."

Nothing dishonourable, impure, unworthy
 Our God, our Law, my Nation, or myself, 1425
 The last of me or no I cannot warrant.

Chor. Go, and the Holy One
 Of Israel be thy guide
 To what may serve his glory best, and spread his
 Name

Great among the Heathen round ; 1430
 Send thee the Angel of thy birth, to stand
 Fast by thy side, who from thy father's field
 Rode up in flames after his message told
 Of thy conception, and be now a shield
 Of fire ; that Spirit, that first rushed on thee 1435
 In the camp of Dan,
 Be efficacious in thee now at need.
 For never was from Heaven imparted
 Measure of strength so great to mortal seed, 1439
 As in thy wonderful actions hath been seen.—
 But wherefore comes old Manoah in such haste
 With youthful steps ? much livelier than ere while
 He seems ; supposing here to find his son,
 Or of him bringing to us some glad news ?

[Enter] *Manoah*.

Man. Peace with you, Brethren ; my induce-
 ment hither 1445
 Was not at present here to find my son,

Ver. 1434. ———— *and be now a shield*
Of fire ;] See Mr. Warton's note on *Comus*,
 ver. 658.

By order of the lords now parted hence
 To come and play before them at their feast.
 I heard all as I came, the city rings,
 And numbers thither flock: I had no will, 1450
 Left I should see him forc'd to things unseemly.
 But that, which mov'd my coming now, was
 chiefly

To give ye part with me what hope I have
 With good success to work his liberty.

Chor. That hope would much rejoice us to
 partake 1455

With thee; say, reverend Sire, we thirst to hear.

Man. I have attempted one by one the lords
 Either at home, or through the high street passing,
 With supplication prone and father's tears,
 To accept of ransom for my son their prisoner. 1460
 Some much averse I found and wondrous harsh,
 Contemptuous, proud, set on revenge and spite;
 That part most reverenc'd Dagon and his priests:
 Others more moderate seeming, but their aim
 Private reward, for which both God and State 1465
 They easily would set to sale: a third
 More generous far and civil, who confess'd
 They had enough reveng'd; having reduc'd

Ver. 1463. *That part most reverenc'd Dagon and his priests:]*
 Milton, I doubt not, in this place indulges that inveterate spleen,
 which he always had against publick and established religion.
 He might also perhaps, in this description of Manoah's appli-
 cation for Samson's deliverance, glance at his own case after the
 Restoration. THYER.

Their foe to misery beneath their fears,
 The rest was magnanimity to remit, 1470
 If some convenient ransom were propos'd.
 What noise or shout was that? it tore the sky.

Chor. Doubtless the people shouting to behold
 Their once great dread, captive, and blind before
 them, 1474

Or at some proof of strength before them shown.

Man. His ransom, if my whole inheritance
 May compass it, shall willingly be paid
 And number'd down: much rather I shall choofe
 To live the poorest in my tribe, than richest,
 And he in that calamitous prison left. 1480
 No, I am fix'd not to part hence without him.
 For his redemption all my patrimony,
 If need be, I am ready to forego
 And quit: not wanting him, I shall want
 nothing.

Chor. Fathers are wont to lay up for their
 sons, 1485

Thou for thy son art bent to lay out all;
 Sons wont to nurse their parents in old age,
 Thou in old age car'st how to nurse thy son,
 Made older than thy age through eye-sight lost.

Ver. 1472. ————— it tore the sky.] So, in
Par. Loss, B. i. 542.

“ A shout that tore hell's concave.”

Which Pope has copied, *Iliad* xiii. 1059.

“ A shout that tore heaven's concave.”

Man. It shall be my delight to tend his
 eyes, 1490
 And view him sitting in the house, ennobled
 With all those high exploits by him achiev'd,
 And on his shoulders waving down those locks
 That of a nation arm'd the strength contain'd :
 And I persuade me, God had not permitted 1495
 His strength again to grow up with his hair,
 Garrison'd round about him like a camp
 Of faithful foldiery, were not his purpose
 To use him further yet in some great service ;
 Not to fit idle with so great a gift 1500
 Ufeless, and thence ridiculous about him.
 And since his strength with eye-fight was not lost,
 God will restore him eye-fight to his strength.

Ver. 1490. *It shall be my delight &c.*] The character of a fond parent is extremely well supported in the person of Manoah quite through the whole performance ; but there is in my opinion something particularly natural and moving in this speech. The circumstance of the old man's feeding and soothing his fancy with the thoughts of tending his son, and contemplating him, ennobled with so many famous exploits, is vastly expressive of the doating fondness of an old father. Nor is the poet less to be admired for his making Manoah, under the influence of this pleasing imagination, go on still further, and flatter himself even with the hopes of God's restoring his eyes again. Hope as naturally arises in the mind in such a situation, as doubts and fears do when it is overclouded with gloominess and melancholy. THYER.

Ver. 1494. *That of a nation arm'd the strength contain'd :*] So Ovid, of Nisus, *Met.* viii. 8.

—————“ cui splendidus ostro
 “ Inter honoratos medio de vertice canos
 “ *Crimis inhærebat, magni fiducia regni.*”

Chor. Thy hopes are not ill founded, nor seem
vain
Of his delivery, and thy joy thereon 1505
Conceiv'd, agreeable to a father's love,
In both which we, as next, participate.

Man. I know your friendly minds and—O
what noise !—

Ver. 1504. *Thy hopes are not ill founded, nor seem vain
Of his delivery,*] This is very proper and becoming the gravity of the Chorus, as much as to intimate that his other hopes were fond and extravagant. And the art of the poet cannot be sufficiently admired in raising the hopes and expectations of his persons to the highest pitch, just before the dreadful catastrophe. How great and how sudden is the change from good to bad ! The one renders the other more striking and affecting. NEWTON.

Ver. 1508. ————— *and—O what noise ! &c.*] It must be very pleasing to the reader to observe with what art and judgement Milton prepares him for the relation of the catastrophe of this tragedy. This abrupt start of Manoah upon hearing the hideous noise, and the description of it by the Chorus in their answer, in terms so full of dread and terrour, naturally fill the mind with a presaging horror proper for the occasion. This is still kept up by their suspense and reasoning about it, and at last raised to a proper pitch by the frightened and distracted manner of the Messenger's coming in, and his hesitation and backwardness in telling what had happened. What gives it the greater strength and beauty is the sudden transition from that soothing and flattering prospect, with which Manoah was entertaining his thoughts to a scene so totally opposite. TYLER.

Nothing can be more impressive, more calculated to excite pity, than the revolution of Samson's fate, which is now developed. For, as a learned writer observes, " while every thing appears tending to *his release*, a horrible crash announces *his destruction*," See Harris's Philolog. Inq. Part ii. p. 209.

Mercy of Heaven, what hideous noise was t l a
Horribly loud, unlike the former shout. 1510

Chor. Noise call you it, or universal groan,
As if the whole inhabitation perish'd !
Blood, death, and deathful deeds, are in that noise,
Ruin, destruction at the utmost point.

Man. Of ruin indeed methought I heard the
noise : 1515

Oh ! it continues, they have slain my son.

Chor. Thy son is rather slaying them ; that
outcry

From slaughter of one foe could not ascend.

Man. Some dismal accident it needs must be ;
What shall we do, stay here or run and see? 1520

Chor. Best keep together here, lest, running
thither,

We unawares run into danger's mouth.

This evil on the Philistines is fall'n ;

From whom could else a general cry be heard ;

The sufferers then will scarce molest us here ; 1525

From other hands we need not much to fear.

What if, his eye-sight (for to Israel's God

Ver. 1512. ————— *inhabitation*] οἰκεμένη.

RICHARDSON.

Ver. 1513. *Blood, death, and deathful deeds, are in that noise,*
Like the reply of the Chorus to Electra, in the tragedy of that
name by Euripides, on her inquiring concerning the dreadful
noise they had heard, ver. 752. edit. Barnes.

οὐκ οἶδ'α πλὴν ἐν, ΦΟΝΙΟΝ ΟΙΜΩΓΗΝ κλέω.

Ver. 1514. ————— *at the utmost point.*] Al ultimo
segno. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 1527. *What if, his eye-sight &c.*] The Chorus here

Nothing is hard) by miracle restor'd,
He now be dealing dole among his foes,

entertains the same pleasing hope of Samson's *eye-sight* being by *miracle restored*, which he had before tacitly reproved in Manoah; and Manoah, who had before encouraged the same hope in himself, now desponds, and reckons it *presumptuous* in another. Such changes of our thoughts are natural and common, especially in any change of our situation and circumstances. Fear and hope usually succeed each other, like ague and fever. And it was not a slight observation of mankind, that could have enabled Milton to have understood, and described, the human passions so exactly. NEWTON.

Ver. 1529. *He now be dealing dole among his foes,*] See Warner's *Albions England*, 1602, p. 10.

"The Centaures shew them valorous, so did Ixion stout,

"And braue Gany'medes did *deale* his balefull *dole* about."

Again, in the translation of *Orlando Innamorato*, three first books, 1598, where the phrase is applied to a warrior:

"Thus Ferraw, brauo-like, doth *deale his dole*."

Again, in the metrical *Histories of Pessiſtratus and Catanea*, referred to in the note on v. 1102.

"To view the desperate *dole* of force,

"And fiercenesse of their fight."

Of this poem the author is Edm. Eluiden, not Matthew Groue: the *poems* of Groue being bound with, and also preceding, Eluiden's *histories*, and the types being similar, occasioned me to overlook the distinct title between them. I take this opportunity of observing, that neither of these poets will be found in Phillips's *Theatrum Poetarum Anglicanorum*, or, I believe, in any subsequent account of our old bards. The copies, with which I have been indulged, belong to the Duke of Bridgewater's fine collection of ancient English poetry: I subjoin their titles. 1. "The most famous and tragicall Historie of Pelops and Hippodamia. Whereunto are adioyned fundrie pleasant deuises, Epigrams, Songes, and Sonnettes. Written by *Mathewe Groue*. Imprinted at London by *Abel Ieffs*, &c. 1587." bl. l. 12mo. 2. "The

And over heaps of slaughter'd walk his way? 1536

Man. That were a joy presumptuous to be thought.

Chor. Yet God hath wrought things as incredible

For his people of old; what hinders now?

Man. He can, I know, but doubt to think he will;

Yet hope would fain subscribe, and tempts belief.

A little stay will bring some notice hither. 1536

Chor. Of good or bad so great, of bad the sooner;

most excellent and pleasant metaphoricall Historie of Pefistratus and Catanca. Set forth this present yeare [probably 1587, though not dated,] by *Edm. Eluiden*, Gentleman. Imprinted at London by Henry Bynneman." 12mo. bl. l.

Ver. 1536. *A little stay will bring some notice hither.*] The text of the first edition wants the nine lines preceding this, and the line that follows it: but they are supplied in the Errata. This line, in that edition, is in the part of the Chorus, as I think it ought to be: and so is the next but one, in that and all the editions; though it seems to belong rather to Manoah. The line between them, which is wanting (as I just now observed) in the text of the first edition, is given, in the Errata and in all the editions since, to the Chorus; but the poet certainly intended both them and Manoah a share in it.

Chor. " A little stay will bring some notice hither

" Of good or bad so great.

Man.

Of bad the sooner!

" For evil news rides post, while good news bates.

Chor. " And to our with I see one hither speeding,

" An Hebrew, as I guess, and of our tribe."

CALTON.

For evil news rides post, while good news bates.
 And to our wish I see one hither speeding,
 An Hebrew, as I guess, and of our tribe. 1540

[Enter] *Messenger*.

Mess. O whither shall I run, or which way fly
 The fight of this so horrid spectacle,
 Which erst my eyes beheld, and yet behold?
 For dire imagination still pursues me.
 But providence or instinct of nature seems, 1545
 Or reason though disturb'd, and scarce consulted,
 To have guided me aright, I know not how,
 To thee first, reverend Manoah, and to these
 My countrymen, whom here I knew remaining,
 As at some distance from the place of horror,
 So in the sad event too much concern'd. 1551

Man. The accident was loud, and here before
 thee
 With rueful cry, yet what it was we hear not;

Ver. 1538. *For evil news rides post,*] So, in Statius:

“ Spargitur in turmas solito pernicioꝛ index

“ Cũ lugenda refert.”

Ver. 1552. ————— *and here before thee*] Here again the old error was carefully preserved through all the editions. In the first edition it was printed “ and *heard* before thee;” but we have corrected it, as Milton himself corrected it in the table of Errata, to which correction as well as the rest no regard was paid in any edition, though it improves the sense greatly. NEWTON.

Yet the edition of 1747, by Tonson, had, in most instances of error, paid regard to Milton's corrections; and now reads “ and *here* before thee.”

No preface needs, thou seest we long to know.

Meff. It would burst forth, but I recover
breath 1555

And sense distract, to know well what I utter.

Man. Tell us the sum, the circumstance defer.

Meff. Gaza yet stands, but all her sons are
fall'n,

All in a moment overwhelm'd and fall'n.

Man. Sad, but thou know'st to Israelites not
saddest 1560

The desolation of a hostile city.

Meff. Feed on that first; there may in grief
be surfeit.

Ver. 1554. *No preface needs,*] No preface is wanting.
Needs is a verb neuter here, as in *Par. Lost*, B. x. 80. Where
see the note. NEWTON.

Ver. 1556. *And sense distract,*] The word is used likewise
as an adjective in Shakspeare, *Jul. Cæs.* A. iv. S. iv.

—————"with this she fell *distract*,

"And (her attendants absent) swallow'd fire."

Again, *Twelfth Night*, A. v. S. v.

"They say, poor gentleman! he's much *distract*."

NEWTON.

Ver. 1562. *Feed on that first; there may in grief be surfeit.*]
Compare the Song in the old comedy of *The Rare Triumphes of
Love and Fortune*, 4to. 1589. bl. letter;

"Goe walke the path of plaint, goe wander wretched now,

"In vncloth waies, blind corners, fit for such a wretch as thou:

"There feede upon thy woe; fresh thoughts shalbe thy fare,

"Musing shalbe thy waiting maide, thy carver shalbe Care."

And Shakspeare, *Two Gent. Veron.* A. iii. S. i.

—————"I have fed upon this woe already,

"And now excess of it will make me surfeit."

Man. Relate by whom.

Meff. By Samfon.

Man. That ftill leffens
The forrow, and converts it nigh to joy. 1564

Meff. Ah ! Manoah, I refrain too fuddenly
To utter what will come at laft too foon ;
Left evil tidings with too rude irruption
Hitting thy aged ear fhould pierce too deep.

Man. Suspence in news is torture, fpeak them
out.

Meff. Take then the worft in brief, Samfon is
dead. 1570

Man. The worft indeed, O all my hopes de-
feated
To free him hence ! but death, who fets all free,
Hath paid his ranfom now and full difcharge.
What windy joy this day had I conceiv'd
Hopeful of his delivery, which now proves 1575
Abortive as the firft-born bloom of fpring

Thus alfo Carew, in his *Verses to the Countefs of Anglefea* :

“ Yet fince you *furfeit on your grief*, 'tis fit

“ I tell the world &c.”

Petrarch has the phrafe “ *Pafcomi di dolor*,” *Sonet. civ. p. 1^{ma}*.

Ver. 1576. *Abortive as the firft-born bloom of fpring &c.*] As Mr. Thyer fays, this fimilitude is to be admired for its remarkable juftnefs and propriety : One cannot poffibly imagine a more exact and perfect image of the dawning hope, which Manoah had conceived from the favourable anfwer he had met with from fome of the Philiftian lords, and of its being fo fuddenly extinguifhed by this return of ill fortune, than that of the early bloom, which the warmth of a few fine days frequently

Nipt with the lagging rear of winter's frost !
 Yet ere I give the reins to grief, say first,
 How died he ; death to life is crown or shame.
 All by him fell, thou say'st ; by whom fell he ?
 What glorious hand gave Samson his death's
 wound ?

1581

Meff. Unwounded of his enemies he fell.

Man. Wearied with slaughter then, or how ?
 explain.

Meff. By his own hands.

Man. Self-violence ? what cause

pushes forward in the spring, and then it is cut off by an unexpected return of winterly weather. As Mr. Warburton observes this beautiful passage seems to be taken from Shakspeare, *Henry VIII.* A. iii. S. ii.

“ This is the state of man ; To-day he puts forth
 “ The tender leaves of hope, to-morrow blossoms,
 “ And bears his blushing honours thick upon him :
 “ The third day, comes a frost, a killing frost ;
 “ And, when he thinks, good easy man, full surely
 “ His greatness is a-ripening, nips his root ;
 “ And then he falls, as I do.”—

Upon which Mr. Warburton remarks, that as spring-frosts are not injurious to the *roots* of fruit-trees, he should imagine the poet wrote *sboot*, that is, the tender *sboot* on which are the young *leaves* and *blossoms*. The comparison, as well as expression of *nips*, is juster too in this reading. Shakspeare has the same thought in *Love's Labour Lost*.

“ Byron is like an envious sneaping frost,
 “ That bites the first-born infants of the spring.”

NEWTON.

See also *Titus Andronicus*, A. iv. S. iv.

“ These tidings nip me, and I hang the head
 “ As *flowers with frost*, or *grass beat down with storms*.”

Brought him so soon at variance with himself
Among his foes ? 1586

Mess. Inevitable cause

At once both to destroy, and be destroy'd ;
The edifice, where all were met to see him,
Upon their heads and on his own he pull'd.

Man. O lastly over-strong against thyself !
A dreadful way thou took'st to thy revenge. 1591
More than enough we know ; but while things
yet

Are in confusion, give us, if thou canst,
Eye-witness of what first or last was done,
Relation more particular and distinct. 1595

Mess. Occasions drew me early to this city ;
And, as the gates I enter'd with sun-rise,
The morning trumpets festival proclaim'd
Through each high street: little I had despatch'd,
When all abroad was rumour'd that this day 1600
Samson should be brought forth, to show the
people

Proof of his mighty strength in feats and games ;
I forrow'd at his captive state, but minded

Ver. 1596. *Occasions drew me early &c.*] As I observed before, that Milton had, with great art, excited the reader's attention to this grand event, so here he is no less careful to gratify it by the relation. It is circumstantial, as the importance of it required, but not so as to be tedious or too long to delay our expectation. It would be found difficult, I believe, to retrench one article without making it defective, or to add one which should not appear redundant. The picture of Samson in particular *with head inclin'd and eyes fix'd*, as if he was

Not to be absent at that spectacle.
 The building was a spacious theatre 1605
 Half-round, on two main pillars vaulted high,

addressing himself to that God, who had given him such a measure of strength, and was summing up all his force and resolution, has a very fine effect upon the imagination. Milton is no less happy in the sublimity of his description of this grand exploit, than judicious in the choice of the circumstances preceding it. The poetry rises as the subject becomes more interesting; and one may without rant or extravagance say, that the poet seems to exert no less force of genius in describing, than Samson does strength of body in executing. THYER.

Ver. 1604. ——— *absent at that spectacle.*] The language would be more correct, if it was “*absent from that spectacle.*”
NEWTON, V

Ver. 1605. *The building was a spacious theatre
 Half-round, on two main pillars vaulted high, &c.]*

Milton has finely accounted for this dreadful catastrophe, and has with great judgement obviated the common objection. It is commonly asked, how so great a building, containing so many thousands of people, could rest upon two pillars so near placed together: and to this it is answered, that instances are not wanting of far more large and capacious buildings than this, that have been supported only by one pillar. Particularly, Pliny in the 15th chapter of the 36th book of his natural history, mentions two theatres built by one C. Curio, who lived in Julius Cæsar’s time; each of which was supported only by one pillar, or pin, or hinge, though very many thousands of people did sit in it together. See Poole’s *Annotations*. Mr. Thyer further adds, that Dr. Shaw, in his *Travels*, observing upon the eastern method of building says, that the place where they exhibit their diversions at this day is an advanced cloyster, made in the fashion of a large penthouse, supported only by one or two contiguous pillars in the front, or else at the center; and that, upon a supposition therefore that, in the house of Dagon, there was a cloistered structure of this kind, the pulling down the front or

With seats where all the lords, and each degree
 Of fort, might sit in order to behold ;
 The other side was open, where the throng
 On banks and scaffolds under sky might stand ;
 I among these aloof obscurely stood. 1611
 The feast and noon grew high, and sacrifice
 Had fill'd their hearts with mirth, high cheer,
 and wine,
 When to their sports they turn'd. Immediately
 Was Samson as a publick servant brought, 1615
 In their state livery clad ; before him pipes
 And timbrels, on each side went armed guards,
 Both horse and foot, before him and behind
 Archers, and slingers, cataphracts and spears.
 At sight of him the people with a shout 1620
 Rifted the air, clamouring their God with praise,
 Who had made their dreadful enemy their thrall.
 He patient, but undaunted, where they led him,
 Came to the place ; and what was set before him,
 Which without help of eye might be assay'd, 1625
 To heave, pull, draw, or break, he still perform'd

center pillars only which supported it would be attended with the like catastrophe that happened to the Philistines. See Shaw's *Travels*, p. 283. NEWTON.

Ver. 1619. *Archers*,] The poet introduces *archers* into the procession ; as the invention of the bow and arrow is ascribed to the Philistines. See *Univ. Hist.*

Ibid. ————— *cataphracts*] That is, men and horses in armour. “ *Cataphracti equites dicuntur, qui et ipsi ferro muniti sunt, et equos similiter munitos habent.*” Servius in *Virg. Aen.* xi. 770.

All with incredible, stupendous force ;
 None daring to appear antagonist.
 At length for intermission sake they led him
 Between the pillars ; he his guide requested 1630
 (For so from such as nearer stood we heard)
 As over-tir'd to let him lean a while
 With both his arms on those two massy pillars ;
 That to the arched roof gave main support. 1634
 He, unsuspecting, led him ; which when Samson
 Felt in his arms, with head a while inclin'd,
 And eyes fast fix'd he stood, as one who pray'd,
 Or some great matter in his mind revolv'd :
 At last with head erect thus cried aloud, 1639
 " Hitherto, Lords, what your commands impos'd
 " I have perform'd, as reason was, obeying,
 " Not without wonder or delight beheld :
 " Now of my own accord such other trial
 " I mean to show you of my strength, yet
 " greater, 1644
 " As with amaze shall strike all who behold."

Ver. 1634. *That to the arched roof gave &c.*] Milton, we see, retains, in his last production, his early attachment to this kind of ancient architecture. Thus, in his *Ode Nativ.* st. xix.
 " Runs through the *arched roof* &c." Again, in *Il Pens.* v. 157.
 " And love the high *embowed roof*." See also *Par. Lost*, B. i. 726. " From the *arched roof* &c." I must observe, however, that Quarles, in his poetical *Hist. of Samson*, relates the same circumstance of the building in which Samson displayed his strength, and fell :

————— " her *arched roof* was all

" Builded with massie stone—" ed. 1632, p. 378.

This utter'd, straining all his nerves he bow'd,
 As with the force of winds and waters pent,
 When mountains tremble, those two massy pillars
 With horrible convulsion to and fro 1649
 He tugg'd, he shook, till down they came and
 drew

The whole roof after them, with burst of
 thunder

Upon the heads of all who sat beneath,
 Lords, ladies, captains, counsellors, or priests,
 Their choice nobility and flower, not only
 Of this but each Philistian city round, 1655
 Met from all parts to solemnize this feast.
 Samson, with these immix'd, inevitably
 Pull'd down the same destruction on himself;
 The vulgar only 'scap'd who stood without.

Chor. O dearly-bought revenge, yet glorious!
 Living or dying thou hast fulfill'd 1661
 The work for which thou wast foretold
 To Israel, and now ly'st victorious

Ver. 1647. *As with the force of winds and waters pent,*
When mountains tremble,] Compare the simile
 in *Par. Lost*, B. vi. 195, &c.

Ver. 1649. *With horrible convulsion]* In several editions it
 is printed *confusion*, but Mr. Thyer, Mr. Symphon, and every
 body, saw that it should be *convulsion*; and so it is in Milton's
 own edition: And in the next line it should not be "He tugg'd,
 he took," as it is absurdly in some editions, but "He tugg'd,
 he shook," as in the first edition. NEWTON.

Both the errors, noticed in the preceding remark, are rectified
 in Toulson's edition of 1747.

Among thy slain self-kill'd,
 Not willingly, but tangled in the fold 1665
 Of dire necessity, whose law in death conjoin'd
 Thee with thy slaughter'd foes, in number more
 Than all thy life hath slain before.

1. *Semichor*. While their hearts were jocund
 and sublime,
 Drunk with idolatry, drunk with wine, 1670

Ver. 1664. ————— *self-kill'd,*

Not willingly,] "This suicide of Samson's (says a learned author) "was of that nature, which respects not self immediately, or primarily seeks to compass its own death. Had Samson only sought his own death, he would probably have found means of destroying himself in prison, before he was brought forth to be made a show and a spectacle. But a renewal of the glory of God in the destruction of the Philistines was his principal object; which glory had been apparently violated by their general usage of his servant Samson, and the particular indignity they had made him suffer in the loss of his eyes. His own death was an accidental circumstance connected with his point in view, but not the first and direct aim of the action. It was necessary indeed for him to put his own life into the utmost hazard, with scarce a possibility of escape; but he cheerfully submitted to fall with his enemies, rather than not accomplish his great design." Moore's *Full Inquiry into the Subject of Suicide*, vol. i. p. 89.

Ver. 1666. *Of dire necessity,*] This shows, I think, that Milton approved of Horace's expression "*dira necessitas*;" which Bentley proposed to alter to "*dura*." But Rucellai, in his beautiful tragedy of *Rosmunda*, has that phrase, A. iv. "*Dura necessitas &c.*"

Ver. 1667. ————— *in number more*

Than all thy life hath slain before.] "So the dead which he slew at his death, were more than they which he slew in his life," *Judges* xvi. 30. NEWTON.

And fat regorg'd of bulls and goats,
 Chaunting their idol, and preferring
 Before our living Dread who dwells
 In Silo, his bright sanctuary :
 Among them he a Spirit of phrenzy sent, 1675
 Who hurt their minds,
 And urg'd them on with mad desire
 To call in haste for their destroyer ;
 They, only set on sport and play,
 Unweetingly importun'd 1680
 Their own destruction to come speedy upon
 them.
 So fond are mortal men,

Ver. 1674. *In Silo,*] Where the tabernacle and ark were at that time. NEWTON.

Ver. 1675. *Among them he a Spirit of phrenzy sent,*] So, in his *Prose-W.* vol. i. p. 273. "Can this be granted them, unless God have smitten us with phrenzic from above, and with a dazling giddinefs at noon-day?"

Ver. 1682. *So fond are mortal men, &c.*] Agreeable to the common maxim, "Quos Deus vult perdere, dementat prius."

THYER.

This maxim has not, I believe, been traced to any authority. The unknown writer of it may possibly have been indebted to the Scholiast on a passage in the *Antigone* of Sophocles. But there is in the Fragments of Euripides the following sentiment; which Milton doubtless here remembered, as the expression in v. 1676, *Who hurt their minds*, clearly, I think, evinces,

ὅταν δὲ Δαίμων ἀνδρὶ προσύνη κακὰ

τὸν ἴον ἐβλάψε πρῶτον. *Incert. Trag.* v. 436. ed. Barnes,

And these lines are cited by the Scholiast on the following lines in the *Antigone* :

Fall'n into wrath divine,
 As their own ruin on themselves to invite,
 Infensate left, or to sense reprobate, 1685
 And with blindness internal struck.

2. *Semichor*. But he, though blind of sight,
 Despis'd and thought extinguish'd quite,
 With inward eyes illuminated,
 His fiery virtue rous'd 1690
 From under ashes into sudden flame,

Σοφία γὰρ ἐκ τῆ
 Κλεινὴν ἔπος πείφανται,
 “ Τὸ κακὸν δοκεῖν ποτ’ ἐσθλόν
 “ Τῷδ’ ἔμμεν’ ὅτω φέρως
 “ Θυὸς ἄγει πρὸς ἅπαν.”

Then on the last line follows the Scholiast's remark, to which the Latin maxim, above mentioned, bears a great resemblance:—
 “*Ἦγεν, ΟΙ ΘΕΟΙ ΟΝ ΒΟΥΛΟΝΤΑΙ ΔΥΣΤΤΕΙΝ, ΑΓΟΥΣΙΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΒΛΑΒΗΝ.*”

Ver. 1686. *And with blindness internal struck.*] Here it is evident, I think, that the poet had a very fine passage of his beloved poetry in mind, in the *Pastor Fido* of Guarini, A. v. S. vi.

“ O cecità de le terrene menti ;
 “ In qual profonda notte,
 “ In qual fosca caligine d'errore
 “ Son le nostr' alme immerse,
 “ Quando tu non le illustri, o sommo Sole.”

Ver. 1689. *With inward eyes illuminated,*] The *inward eye* is a phrase of which Milton's friend, Henry More, seems fond, in his *Song of the Soul*, 1642. Thus, in c. iii. st. 9.

“ But corporall life doth so obnubilate
 “ Our *inward eyes* that they be nothing bright.”

Again, st. 11. “ With foul filth the *inward eye* yblent.” See also st. 5, of the same canto: “ God doth *illuminate the mind*,” Compare note on *Par. Lost*, B. iii. 51.

And as an evening dragon came,
 Affailant on the perched roofts
 And nests in order rang'd
 Of tame villatick fowl; but as an eagle 1695

Ver. 1692. *And as an evening dragon came, &c.*] Mr. Calton says that Milton certainly dictated

“ And *not* as an evening dragon came.”

Samson *did not* fet upon them, like an evening dragon; *but* darted ruin on their heads, like the thunder-bearing eagle. Mr. Symphon, to the same purpose, proposes to read

“ And *not* as evening dragon came,

—— “ *but* as an eagle &c.”

Mr. Thyer understands it otherwise, and explains it without any alteration of the text, to which rather I incline. One might produce (says he) authorities enow, from the naturalists, to show that serpents devour fowls. That of Aldrovandus is sufficient, and serves fully to justify this simile. Speaking of the food of serpents he says, “ Etenim aves, et potissimum avium pullos in nidis adhuc degentes libenter furantur.” Aldrov. *de Serp. & Drac.* Lib. 1. c. 3. It is common enough, among the ancient poets, to meet with several similes brought in to illustrate one action; when *one* cannot be found, that will hold in *every* circumstance. Milton does the same here, introducing this of the dragon merely in allusion to the order in which the Philistines were placed in the amphitheatre, and the subsequent one of the eagle to express the rapidity of that vengeance which Samson took of his enemies.

NEWTON.

Ver. 1695. —— villatick fowl;] “ *Villaticas alites*,” Plin. lib. xxiii. sect. 17. RICHARDSON.

Ibid. —— *but as an eagle &c.*] In the *Ajax* of Sophocles it is said that his enemies, if they saw him appear, would be terrified like birds at the appearance of the vultur or the eagle, v. 167.

“ Ἄλλ’ ὅτε γὰρ δὴ κ. τ. λ.

The Greek verses, I think, are faulty; and, as I remember, are corrected not amiss by Dawes in his *Miscell. Critic.* JORTIN.

His cloudless thunder bolted on their heads.
 So Virtue, given for lost,
 Depress'd, and overthrown, as seem'd,
 Like that self-begotten bird
 In the Arabian woods embost, 1700
 That no second knows nor third,
 And lay ere while a holocaust,
 From out her ashy womb now teem'd,
 Revives, reflowerishes, then vigorous most
 When most unactive deem'd; 1705
 And, though her body die, her fame survives
 A secular bird ages of lives.

Ver. 1700. ————— *embost*,] Probably from the Italian *emboscure*, to enclose in a thicket, as Dr. Johnson observes. I find that Milton uses *imbosc* in this sense, which is nearer to the original. "They seek the dark, the bushy, the tangled forrest: they would *imbosc*." Prose-W. vol. i. 1698. p. 261. It appears to have been used by our old poets, as a term of hunting, applied more particularly to the hart: Thus in Chaucer's *Dreme*, v. 352.

"And how the harte had upon length
 "So moche *embosed*, I n'ot nowe what."

And in Chapman's *Iliad*, iv. p. 55. of hinds and harts,

"Who, wearied with a long-run field, are instantly *embost*."

So P. Fletcher, in his *Poetic. Miscell.* p. 86.

"Look as an hart, with sweat and blood embued,

"Chas'd and *embost*, thirsts in the foil to be."

Ver. 1702. ————— *a holocaust*,] An *entire burnt-offering*. Else generally only part of the beast was burnt.

RICHARDSON.

Ver. 1706. ————— *her fame survives*

A secular bird ages of lives.] The construction and meaning of the whole period I conceive to be this, Virtue,

Man. Come, come ; no time for lamentation
now,

Nor much more cause ; Samson hath quit himself
Like Samson, and heroickly hath finish'd 1710
A life heroick, on his enemies
Fully reveng'd, hath left them years of mourning,
And lamentation to the sons of Caphtor
Through all Philistian bounds, to Israel
Honour hath left, and freedom, let but them 1715
Find courage to lay hold on this occasion ;
To himself and father's house eternal fame ;

given for lost, like the phoenix consumed and now teemed from out her ashy womb, revives, reflowerishes, and though her body die, which was the case of Samson, yet her fame survives a phoenix many ages : for the comma after *survives* in all the editions should be omitted, as Mr. Calton has observed as well as myself. The phoenix, says he, lived *a thousand years* according to some. [See Bochart's *Hierozoicon*, Pars secunda, p. 817.] and hence it is called here *a secular bird*. “Ergo quoniam sex diebus cuncta Dei opera perfecta sunt ; per *secula sex*, id est annorum *sex millia*, manere hoc statu mundum necesse est.” Lactantius *Div. Inst.* Lib. 7. c. 14. The fame of virtue (the Semichorus saith) *survives*, outlives, this *secular bird* many ages. The comma, which is in all the editions after *survives*, breaks the construction.

NEWTON.

Ver. 1713. ————— to the sons of Caphtor] *Caphtor* it should be, and not *Chaptor* as in several editions : and the sons of *Caphtor* are Philistines, originally of the island Caphtor or Crete. The people were called Caphtorim, Cherethim, Ceretim, and afterwards Cretians. A colony of them settled in Palestine, and there went by the name of Philistim. MEADOWCOURT.

Ver. 1717. To himself and father's house eternal fame ;] Pindar, *Isthm. Od.* vii.

Ἴσω γὰρ σαφὲς, δὲ τις ἐν
Ταῦτα νικήλα χάλα-

And, which is best and happiest yet, all this
 With God not parted from him, as was fear'd,
 But favouring and assisting to the end. 1729
 Nothing is here for tears, nothing to wail
 Or knock the breast; no weakness, no contempt,
 Dispraise, or blame; nothing but well and fair,
 And what may quiet us in a death so noble.
 Let us go find the body where it lies 1735
 Soak'd in his enemies blood; and from the stream
 With lavers pure, and cleansing herbs, wash off
 The clotted gore. I, with what speed the while,
 (Gaza is not in plight to fay us nay,)
 Will send for all my kindred, all my friends, 1739

Ζαν αἵματος πατρὸς φίλας
 Πάτρας αἰμύνεται,
 Λοιγὸν ἀμύνων ἐναντίῳ στρατῷ
 Ἀδῶν, TENEAE MERISTON KAEOS ATEON
 Ζῶων τ' ἀπὸ καὶ θανόν.

Ver. 1730. *Will send for all my kindred, all my friends, &c.*] This is founded upon what the Scripture saith, *Judges xvi. 31*; which the poet has finely improved. “Then his brethren, and all the house of his father, came down and took him, and brought him up, and buried him between Zorah and Eshtaol in the burying-place of Manoah his father.” NEWTON.

The poet by *silent obsequy*, in this description of the last respect intended to be paid to Samson, alludes to the custom observed at the Jewish funerals; at which all the near relations of the deceased came to the house in their mourning drefs, and sat down upon the ground *in silence*; whilst in another part of the house were heard the voices of mourners, and the sound of instruments, hired for the purpose: These exclamations continued till the rites were performed, when the nearest relations resumed their melancholy posture.

To fetch him hence, and solemnly attend
 With silent obsequy, and funeral train,
 Home to his father's house: there will I build him
 A monument, and plant it round with shade
 Of laurel ever green, and branching palm, 1735
 With all his trophies hung, and acts inroll'd
 In copious legend, or sweet lyric song.
 Thither shall all the valiant youth resort,
 And from his memory inflame their breasts
 To matchless valour, and adventures high: 1740

Ver. 1736. *With all his trophies hung,*] Chivalry was now again in Milton's mind. "Sancho descolgò las armas, que como trofeo de un arbol estavan pendientes, y requiriendo &c." *D. Quix.* P. ii. lib. iv. cap. xxix. He might also allude to the custom of hanging the sword, helmet, and armorial ensigns, over the tombs of eminent persons.

Ibid. ————— *acts inroll'd*

In copious legend, or sweet lyric song.] Pindar, *Pyth.*

Od. i.

————— Οπιθόμειρον αὖ-

χρμα δόξας

Οἷον ἀπορχμίνων αἶν-

δρῶν διασταρ μανύει,

Καὶ ΛΟΓΙΟΙΣ καὶ ᾿ΑΟΙΔΟΙΣ.

Ver. 1738. *Thither shall all the valiant youth &c.*] Mason, who was a great admirer of this tragedy, introduces Caractacus thus consoling himself over the body of his son Arviragus:

"Here in high Mona shall thy noble limbs

"Rest in a noble grave; posterity

"Shall to thy tomb with annual reverence bring

"Sepulchral stones, and pile them to the clouds."

Ver. 1740. ————— *adventures high:*] This is a term in chivalry and romance. "La alta aventura," *D. Quix.* And in Hawes's *Pastime of Pleasure*, 1554, chap. xxxii.

The virgins also shall, on feastful days,
 Visit his tomb with flowers ; only bewailing
 His lot unfortunate in nuptial choice,
 From whence captivity and loss of eyes.

Chor. All is best, though we oft doubt 1745
 What the unsearchable dispose
 Of highest Wisdom brings about,
 And ever best found in the close.
 Oft he seems to hide his face,
 But unexpectedly returns, 1750
 And to his faithful champion hath in place
 Bore witness gloriously ; whence Gaza mourns,
 And all that band them to resist
 His uncontrollable intent ;
 His servants he, with new acquit 1755

“ Right *high adventures* unto you shall fall
 “ In time of fyght.”

Quarles has also said of Samson, “ His youth was crown’d with
high and brave adventures,” p. 291. Hist. of Samf. 1632.

Ver. 1745. *All is best, though we oft doubt &c.*] There is a
 great resemblance betwixt this speech of Milton’s Chorus, and
 that of the Chorus in Æschylus’s *Suppliants*, beginning at ver. 90,
 to ver. 109. THYFR.

See also the concluding lines of the *Medea*, *Bacchæ*, and *Helena*,
 of Euripides ; and also the six last verses of Pindar’s twelfth *Py-*
thian Ode.

Ver. 1755. *His servants he, with new acquit*] It is “ his
servant” in most of the editions ; but the first edition has it
 rightly “ his *servants*,” meaning the Chorus and other persons
 present.

Acquit, the same as acquisition, a word that may be found in
 Skinner, but I do not remember to have met with it elsewhere.

NEWTON.

Of true experience, from this great event
 With peace and consolation hath dismiss'd,
 And calm of mind all passion spent.

Milton writes *acquist* from the Italian substantive *acquisto*, an acquisition.

Ver. 1757. *With peace and consolation hath dismiss'd,*

And calm of mind all passions spent.] This moral

lesson in the conclusion is very fine, and excellently suited to the beginning. For Milton had chosen for the motto to this piece a passage out of Aristotle, which may show what was his design in writing this tragedy, and the sense of which he hath expressed in the preface, that "tragedy is of power by raising pity and fear, or terror, to purge the mind of those and such like passions, &c." and he exemplifies it here in Manoa and the Chorus, after their various agitations of passion, acquiescing in the divine dispensations, and thereby inculcating a most instructive lesson to the reader. NEWTON.



Samson Agonistes is the only tragedy that Milton finished; though he sketched out the plans of several, and proposed the subjects of more, in his manuscript preserved in Trinity College, Cambridge. And we may suppose that he was determined, to the choice of this particular subject, by the similitude of his own circumstances to those of Samson blind and among the Philistines. This I conceive to be the last of his poetical pieces; and it is written in the very spirit of the ancients, and equals, if not exceeds, any of the most perfect tragedies, which were ever exhibited on the Athenian stage, when Greece was in its glory. As this work was never intended for the stage, the division into acts and scenes is omitted. Bishop Atterbury had an intention of getting Pope to divide it into acts and scenes, and of having it acted at Westminster: but his commitment to the Tower put an end to that design. It has since been brought upon the stage in the form of an Oratorio; and Handel's musick

is never employed to greater advantage, than when it is adapted to Milton's words. That great artist has done equal justice to our author's *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*, as if the same spirit possessed both masters, and as if the god of Musick, and of Verse, was still one and the same. NEWTON.

Samson Agonistes is but a very indifferent subject for a dramatick fable. However Milton has made the best of it. He seems to have chosen it for the sake of the satire on bad wives.

WARBURTON.

It would be hardly less absurd to say, that he chose the subject of *Paradise Lost* for the sake of describing a connubial altercation. The nephew of Milton has told us, that he could not ascertain the time when this drama was written; but it probably flowed from the heart of the indignant poet soon after his spirit had been wounded by the calamitous destiny of his friends, to which he alludes with so much energy and pathos, in the Chorus, v. 652, &c. He did not design the drama for a theatre, nor has it the kind of action requisite for theatrical interest; but in one point of view the *Samson Agonistes* is the most singularly affecting composition, that was ever produced by sensibility of heart and vigour of imagination. To give it this particular effect, we must remember, that the lot of Milton had a marvellous coincidence with that of his hero, in three remarkable points; first (but we should regard this as the most inconsiderable article of resemblance) he had been tormented by a beautiful but disaffectionate and disobedient wife; secondly, he had been the great champion of his country, and as such the idol of publick admiration; lastly, he had fallen from that height of unrivalled glory, and had experienced the most humiliating reverse of fortune. In delineating the greater part of Samson's sensations under calamity, he had only to describe his own. No dramatist can have ever conformed so literally as Milton to the Horatian precept; "*Si vis me flere, &c.*" And if, in reading the *Samson Agonistes*, we observe how many passages, expressed with the most energetic sensibility, exhibit to our fancy the sufferings and real sentiments of the poet, as well as those of his hero, we may derive from this extraordinary composition a kind of pathetick delight, that no other drama can afford; we may applaud the felicity of genius, that contrived, in this manner, to relieve a

heart overburthened with anguish and indignation, and to pay a half-concealed, yet hallowed, tribute to the memories of dear though dishonoured friends, whom the state of the times allowed not the afflicted poet more openly to deplore. HAYLEY.

Dr. Johnson thought differently about this tragedy, written evidently and happily in the style and manner of *Æschylus*; and said, "that it was deficient in both requisites of a true Aristotelick middle. Its intermediate parts have neither cause nor consequence, neither hasten nor retard the catastrophe." To which opinion the judicious Mr. Twining accedes. What Dr. Warburton said of it is wonderfully ridiculous, that Milton "chose the subject for the sake of the satire on bad wives;" and that the subjects of *Samson Agonistes* and *Paradise Lost* were not very different, "the fall of two heroes by a woman." Milton, in this drama, has given an example of every species of measure which the English language is capable of exhibiting, not only in the choruses, but in the dialogue part. The chief parts of the dialogue, (though there is a great variety of measure in the choruses of the Greek tragedy,) are in Iambick verse. I recollect but three places in which hexameter verses are introduced in the Greek tragedies; once in the *Trachinæ*, once in the *Philætetes* of Sophocles, and once in the *Tronades* of Euripides. Voltaire wrote an opera on this subject of *Samson*, 1732; which was set to musick by Rameau, but was never performed: he has inserted choruses to Venus and Adonis; and the piece finishes by introducing Samson actually pulling down the temple, on the stage, and crushing all the assembly, which Milton has flung into so fine a narration; and the opera is ended by Samson's saying, "J' ai réparé ma honte, & j'expire en vainqueur." And yet this was the man that dared to deride the irregularities of Shakspeare. DR. J. WARTON.

Dr. Warton, in a concluding note on *Lycidas*, assigns to *Samson Agonistes* the third place of rank among the poet's works. Lord Monboddo, still more enamoured of its excellencies, says, that it is "the last and the most faultless, in my judgement, of all Milton's poetical works, if not the finest." Orig. and Prog. of Language, 2d. edit. vol. iii. p. 71. It is certainly, as Mr. Mason long since observed, an excellent piece, to which Posterity has not yet given its full measure of popular and universal fame.

“ Perhaps,” says this judicious writer in a letter to a friend concerning his own impressive tragedy of *Elfrida*, “ in your closet, and that of a few more, who unaffectedly admire genuine nature and ancient simplicity, the *Agonistes* may hold a distinguished rank. Yet, surely, we cannot say, in Hamlet’s phrase, *that it pleases the million; it is still caviare to the general.*” *Elfrida*, edit. 1752. Lett. ii. p. vi, vii.

Mr. Penn has printed, in the second volume of his valuable “ Critical, Poetical, and Dramatick Works, 1798,” an abridgement of Milton’s *Samson*; in nearly which form he thinks it might be acted as an interlude, without danger of being ill received. The abridgement is formed with much ingenuity. Yet the classical reader will not perhaps accede to the absence of some splendid, and some affecting, passages. Mr. Penn also remarks, that Dr. Johnson’s criticism on this tragedy is severe only in supposing, that it contained no more than the substance of one act; and that, though still one of Milton’s valuable works, *Samson* is inferior both to *Lycidas*, and the *Allegro and Penfoso*. I agree in preferring the earlier poems of Milton to his tragedy: But I may be permitted not to subscribe to the assertion in Dr. Johnson’s criticism that “ nothing passes between the first act and the last, that either hastens or delays the death of Samson;” which, Mr. Cumberland observes, is not correct. See before, p. 356. On the contrary, I admire the art and judgement with which the poet has delineated the various circumstances that, from the first entrance of Manoah to the last appearance of Samson, progressively affect the mind of the hero, and finally produce the resolution which hastens the catastrophe. Samson, as an oratorio, is divided into three acts: Mr. Penn’s abridgement exhibits the length of two.

It has been observed by Goldsmith, that *Samson* is a tragedy without a love-intrigue, as the *Athalie* of Racine also is, which appeared not many years after *Samson*; and that Maffei, instructed by these examples, has formed his *Merope* without any amorous plot.

The history of *Samson* has often employed the pen of poetry. Mr. Hayley thinks that Milton’s *Samson* might perhaps be founded on a sacred drama of that country, to the poets of which

Milton was confessedly partial; *La Rappresentazione di Sanfone*, per Aleffandro Roselli; of which there is an edition printed at Florence in 1554, another at the same place in 1588, and a third at Siena in 1616: but I have not been more fortunate than Mr. Hayley, in endeavouring to procure a copy of this Samson. The accomplished author of the *Historical Memoir on Italian Tragedy*, 1799, has suggested to me that Milton might have met with more than one Italian drama on this subject; for, among the *Rappresentazioni* enumerated by Cionacci, he had observed a *Sanfone*, from the prologue to which an extract is given:

“ A gloria adunche dell’ Altitonante,

“ E di colui che più che ’l sol risplende; &c.”

and this he conceives to be not the Sanfone of Roselli, but a *Rappresentazione* of the fifteenth century. I am informed by the same gentleman, that, in or about the year 1622, appeared the following French drama, which might also have influenced the English poet in the choice of *Samson*: “ Tragedie nouvelle de Samson le fort; contenant ses victoires, & sa prise par la trahison de son épouse Dalila, qui lui coupa ses cheveux, & le livra aux Philistins, desquels il occit trois mille à son trespas: En quatre actes. 8vo. sans date.” Probably, among the *Autos Sacramentales* or religious tragedies of the Spanish, a *Samson* may exist. His history is particularly noticed, and part of it described in a Sonnet, in the celebrated Spanish pastoral, *La Constante Amarillis*, edit. Lyon. 1614, p. 166.

“ Sanfon se mira y duda, &c.”

Among a variety of sacred poems in different Latin metres, the acts of Samson are described in nearly four hundred elegant hexameters in the *Judices Populi Israelitici*, Autore Pantaleone Candido, Austriaco, printed at Basil in 1570, p. 301—315. Phillips, Milton’s nephew, calls Candidus “ the chief of those that are fam’d for an elegant style in Latin verse.” *Theat. Poet.* 145. In our own language also, an elaborate *Historie of Samson* was published, in 1632, by Quarles; in which, among several extravagances indeed of imagery and expression, are some spirited passages: I will cite the description of Samson enraged, when he found that his bride had discovered his riddle, edit. 1632, p. 327.

“ When the next Day had heav’d his golden head
“ From the soft pillow of his sea-greene bed ;
“ And, with his rising glory, had posselt
“ The spatious borders of the enlighten’d East ;
“ Samson arose ; and, in a rage, went downe
“ (By Heaven directed) to a neighbouring towne :
“ His choller was inflam’d, and from his eye
“ The sudden flashes of his wrath did flye ;
“ Paleneffe was in his cheekes ; and, from his breath,
“ There flew the fierce embassadours of death ;
“ He heav’d his hand, and where it fell, it flew, &c.”

APPENDIX TO SAMSON AGONISTES,

containing plans of other subjects,

intended for TRAGEDIES by Milton :

From his own MS, in Trinity College, Cambridge.

SCRIPTURE SUBJECTS. ^aOTHER TRAGEDIES. ^b

- i. *The Flood*. [See No. iii. below.]
- ii. *Abram in Ægypt*.
- iii. *The Deluge*.
- iv. *Sodom*.
- v. *Dinah*. Vide Euseb. Præparat. Evangel. lib. ix. cap. xxii.

The Persons.

Dine.	Hamor.
Debora, Rebecca's nurse.	Sichem.
Jacob.	Counfelors 2.
Simeon.	Nuncius.
Levi.	Chorus.

^a These numerous Scripture subjects justify a remark made by Mr. Warton, that Milton early leaned towards religious subjects for plays, and wished to turn the drama into the scriptural channel: He accordingly, in his *Reason of Ch. Gov. against Prelacy*, written in 1641, tempers his praise of Sophocles and Euripides with recommending *Solomon's Song*; and adds, that "the *Apocalypse* of Saint John is the majestick image of a *bigb and stately tragedy*, shutting up and intermingling her solemn scenes and acts with a seven-fold chorus of hallelujahs and harping symphonies." *Prose-Works*, edit. 1698, vol. i. 61.

^b So they are termed in Milton's MS. Those, which relate to *Paradise Lost*, have been given at the end of that poem.

- vi. *Tamar Cuophorisa*. Where Juda is found to have been the author of that crime, which he condemned in Tamar: Tamar excus'd in what she attempted.
- vii. *The golden Calf*, or *The Massacre in Horeb*.
- viii. *The Quails*. Num. xi.
- ix. *The Murmurers*. Num. xiv.
- x. *Corah, Datban, &c.* Num. xvi, xvii.
- xi. *Moabitides*. Num. xxv. [Sec No. lv. below.]
- xii. *Achan*. Joshue vii and viii.
- xiii. *Jesuah in Gibeon*. Josh. x.
- xiv. *Gideon Idoloclastes*. Judg. vi, vii.
- xv. *Gideon pursuing*. Judg. viii.
- xvi. *Abimelech the Ufurper*. Judg. ix.
- xvii. SAMSON MARRIING, or *in Ramach Lechi*. Judg. xv.
- xxviii. SAMSON PURSOPHORUS, or *Hybristes*, or *Dagonalia*. Judg. xvi.
- xix. *Comazontes*, or *The Benjaminsites*, or *The Rioters*. Judg. xix, xx, xxi.
- xx. *Theristria*, a Pastoral, out of Ruth.
- xxi. *Eliade*, Hophni and Phinehas. I Sam. i, ii, iii, iv. Beginning with the first overthrow of Israel by the Philistines; interlac't with Samuel's vision concerning Elie's family.
- xxii. *Jonathan rescued*. I Sam. xiv.
- xxiii. *Doeg slandering*. I Sam. xxii.
- xxiv. *The Sheep-shearers in Carmel*, a Pastoral. I Sam. xxv.
- xxv. *Saul in Gilboa*. I Sam. xxviii, xxxi.
- xxvi. *David revolted*. I Sam. from the xxvii chap. to the xxxi.
- xxvii. *David adulterous*. II Sam. c. xi, xii.
- xxviii. *Tamar*. II Sam. xiii.
- xxix. *Achitophel*. II Sam. xv, xvi, xvii, xviii.
- xxx. *Adoniah*. I Reg. ii.
- xxxi. *Solomon Gynæocratumenus*, or *Idolomargus*, aut *Thysiazusæ*. I Reg. xi.
- xxxii. *Reboam*. I Reg. xii. Wher is disputed of a politick religion.
- xxxiii. *Abias Thersæus*. I Reg. xiv. The queen, after much dispute, as the last refuge, sent to the profet Ahias of

Shilo; receives the message. The Epitafis, in that shee, hearing the child shall die, as she comes home, refuses to return, thinking thereby to elude the oracle. The former part is spent in bringing the sick prince forth as it were desirous to shift his chamber and couch, as dying men use; his father telling him what sacrifice he had sent for his health to Bethel and Dan; his fearlesnesse of death, and putting his father in mind to set [send] to Ahiah. The Chorus of the Elders of Israel bemoaning his virtues bereft them, and at another time wondring why Jeroboam, being bad himself, should so grieve for his son that was good, &c.

- xxxiv. *Imbres*, or *The Showers*. I Reg. xviii, xix.
 xxxv. *Naboth συκοφαντήμενος*. I Reg. xxi.
 xxxvi. *Ahab*. I Reg. xxii. Beginning at the synod of false profets: Ending with relation of Ahab's death: His bodie brought. Zedechiah slain by Ahab's friends for his seducing. (See Lavater, II Chron. xviii.)
 xxxvii. *Elias in the mount*. II Reg. i. Ὀρεβάτης. Or, better, *Elias Polemistes*.
 xxxviii. *Elysæus Hydrophobos*. II Reg. iii. *Hydrophantes*. *Aquator*.
 xxxix. *Elysæus Adorodocétas*.
 xl. *Elysæus Minutes*, five in Dothaimis. II Reg. vi.
 xli. *Samaria Liberata*. II Reg. vii.
 xlii. *Achabæi Cunoboromæni*. II Reg. ix. The Scene, Jesrael. Beginning, from the watchman's discovery of Jehu, till he go out. In the mean while, message of things passing brought to Jesebel, &c. Lastly, the 70 heads of Ahab's sons brought in, and message brought of Ahaziah's brethren slain on the way. Chap. x.
 xliii. *Jehu Belicola*. II Reg. x.
 xliv. *Ataliah*. II Reg. xi.
 xlv. *Amaziah Doryalotus*. II Reg. xiv. II Chron. xxv.
 xlvi. *Hezechias πολιορκήμενος*. II Reg. xviii, xix. Hefechia besieged. The wicked hypocrisy of Shebna, (spoken of in the xi. or thereabout of Ifaiah,) and the commendation of Eliakim, will afford ἀφορμας λόγου, together with a faction that fought help from Egypt.

- xlvi. *Josiah* Ἀνελμενος. II Reg. xxiii.
- xlvi. *Zedechiah* νεοτελειων. II Reg. But the story is larger in Jeremiah.
- xlix. *Salymur Halofis*. Which may begin from a message brought to the city, of the judgement upon Zedechiah and his children in Ribla; and so seconded with the burning and destruction of city and temple by Nebuzaradan; lamented by Jeremiah.
- l. *Afa*, or *Æthiopes*. II Chron. xiv. with the deposing his mother, and burning her idol.
- li. *The three children*. Dan. iii.
- lii. *Abram from Morea*, or *Isaac redem'd*. The oiconomic may be thus. The fift or fixt day after Abraham's departure, Eleazar (Abram's steward) first alone, and then with the Chorus, discourse of Abraham's strange voiage, thire mistress sorrow and perplexity, accompanied with frightfull dreams; and tell the manner of his rising by night, taking his servants and his son with him. Next may come forth Sarah herself. After the Chorus, or Ismael, or Agar. Next some shepherd or companie of merchants, passing through the mount in the time that Abram was in the mid-work, relate to Sarah what they saw. Hence lamentations, fears, wonders. The matter in the mean while divulg'd, Aner, or Eschol, or Mamre, Abram's confederats, come to the house of Abram to be more certaine, or to bring news; in the mean while discoursing, as the world would, of such an action, divers ways; bewayling the fate of so noble a man fallen from his reputation, either through divine justice or superstition, or coveting to doe some notable act through zeal. At length a servant, sent from Abram, relates the truth; and last he himselfe comes in with a great traine of Melchizedec's, whose shepherds, being secretly witnesses of all passages, had related to their master, and he conducted his friend Abraham home with joy.
- liii. *Baptistes*. The Scene, the Court.
Beginning, From the morning of Herod's birth-day.

Herod, by some counfeler persuaded^c on his birth-day to releafe John Baptift, purpofes it; caufes him to be fent for to Court from prifon. The queen hears of it; takes occafion to paffe wher he is, on purpofe, that, under prætenfe of reconciling to him, or seeking to draw a kind

^c *In the margin of the MS.* Or els the queen may plot, under prætenfe of begging for his liberty, to seek to draw him into a fnare by his freedom of fpeech.

retractation from him of the cenfure on the marriage; to which end ſhe fends a courtier before, to found whether he might be perfuaded to mitigate his fentence; which not finding, ſhe herſelf craftily affays; and, on his conſtancie, founds an accuſation to Herod of a contumacious affront, on ſuch a day, before many peers; præpares the king to ſome paſſion, and at laſt, by her daughter's dancing, effects it. There may prologize the Spirit of Philip, Herod's brother. It may alſo be thought that Herod had well bedew'd himſelf with wine, which made him grant the eaſier to his wive's daughter.

Some of his diſciples alſo, as to congratulate his liberty, may be brought in; with whom, after certain command of his death, many compaſſionating words of his diſciples, bewayling his youth cut off in his glorious cours; he telling them his work is don, and wiſhing them to follow Chriſt his maiſter.

liv. *Sodom.* The title, *Cupid's funeral pile: Sodom burning.* The Scene before Lot's gate.

The Chorus, conſiſting of Lot's ſhepherds come to the citty about ſome affairs, await in the evening thire maiſter's return from his evening walk toward the citty gates. He brings with him two young men, or youths, of noble form. After likely diſcourſes, præpares for thire entertainment. By then ſupper is ended, the gallantry of the towne paffe by in proceſſion, with muſick and ſong, to the temple of Venus Urania or Peor; and, underſtanding of tow noble ſtrangers arriv'd, they ſend 2 of thire choyeſt youth, with the prieſt, to invite them to thire citty ſolemnnities; it beeing an honour that thire citty had decreed to all fair perſonages, as beeing ſacred to their goddeſs. The angels, being ask't

by the priest whence they are, say they are of Salem ; the priest inveighs against the strict reign of Melchisedec.

Lot, that knows thire drift, answers thwartly at last. Of which notice given to the whole assembly, they hasten thither, taxe him of præsumption, singularity, breach of city-customs ; in fine, offer violence. The Chorus of shepheards præpare resistance in thire maister's defence ; calling the rest of the serviture : but, being forc't to give back, the angels open the dore, rescue Lot, discover themselves, warne him to gether his friends and fons in law out of the citty.

He goes, and returns ; as having met with some incredulous. Some other freind or son in law (out of the way when Lot came to his house) overtakes him to know his buisnes. Heer is disputed of incredulity of divine judgments, and such like matters.

At last is described the parting from the citty. The Chorus depart with their maister. The angels doe the deed with all dreadfull execution. The king and nobles of the citty may come forth, and serve to set out the terror. A Chorus of angels concluding, and the angels relating the event of Lot's journey and of his wife.

The first Chorus, beginning, may relate the course of the citty ; each evening every one, with mistress or Ganymed, ^d gitterning along the streets, or solacing on the banks of Jordan, or down the stream.

^d gitterning along the streets,] That is, *playing on the cittern* along the streets. This musical instrument, the *cittern*, was called *gittern* in Milton's time ; and has been, in later days, termed by some the *guitar*. See Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, ed. 1621, p. 468. "The divers strings of a sweet *gittern*." And Gayton's *Notes on Don Quixote*, 1654, p. 280.

" a gitterne,
" As musical as any bitterne."

Milton uses the word *gitterning*, because the *cittern* was the symbol of women that lived by prostitution. See Sir John Hawkins's *Hist. of Musick*, vol. iii. 408, where, among other proofs, Jonson's *Volpone* is cited, A. ii. S. v. Corvino is there ironically exhorting his wife Celia not to dally with his jealousy, but at once to prostitute herself to the supposed mountebank who had courted her at her window :—"Get you a *cittern*, Lady Vanity, and be a dealer with the

At the priests' inviting the angels to the solemnity, the angels, pitying their beauty, may dispute of love, and how it differs from lust ; seeking to win them.

In the last scene, to the king and nobles, when the fierce thunder begins aloft, the angel appears all girt with flames, which, he saith, are the flames of true love, and tells the king, who falls down with terror, his just suffering, as also Athane's, that is, Gener, Lot's son in law, for despising the continual admonitions of Lot. Then, calling to the thunders, lightning, and fires, he bids them heare the call and command of God to come and destroy a godlesse nation. He brings them down with some short warning to other nations to take heed.

- lv. *Moabitides, or Phineas.* The epitafis whereof may lie in the contention, first, between the father of Zimri and Eleazer, whether he [ought] to have slain his son without law ? Next, the ambassadors of the Moabites, expostulating about Cosbi, a stranger and a noble woman, slain by Phineas.

It may be argued about reformation and punishment illegal, and, as it were, by tumult. After all arguments driven home, then the word of the Lord may be brought, acquitting and approving Phineas.

- lvi. *Christus Patiens.* The Scene, in the garden. Beginning, from the coming thither, till Judas betraies, and the officers lead him away. The rest by Message and Chorus.

His agony may receav noble expreffions.

- lvii. *Christ born.*

- lviii. *Herod maffacring, or Rachel weeping.* Matt. ii.

- lxix. *Christ bound.*

- lx. *Christ crucifi'd.*

- lxi. *Christ risen.*

- lxii. *Lazarus.* John, xi.

virtuous man !" In noticing that these females, in the reign of Elizabeth, added to their other allurements that of musick, Sir John further observes that the *cittern* was most in use with them, as being light and portable like the lute, to which it bore a near resemblance. The practice seems to have continued in Milton's time, and to have exsited his just indignation.

BRITISH TRAGEDIES.

- lxiii. The cloister-king *Conflans* set up by *Vortiger*. *Venutius*, husband to *Cartimandua*.
- lxiv. *Vortiger* poison'd by *Roena*.
- lxv. *Vortiger* immur'd. *Vortiger* marrying *Roena*. See *Speed*. Reproov'd by *Vodin*, archbishop of London. *Speed*. The massacre of the *Britains* by *Hengist* in thire cups at *Salisbury* plaine. *Malmfbury*.
- lxvi. *Sigber*, of the East-Saxons, revolted from the faith, and reclaimed by *Jarumang*.
- lxvii. *Ethelbert*, of the East-Angles, slain by *Offa* the Mercian. See *Holinsh*. L. vi. C. v. *Speed*, in the life of *Offa*, and *Ethelbert*.
- lxviii. *Sebert* slaine by *Penda* after he had left his kingdom. See *Holinshed*, p. 116.
- lix. *Wulfer* slaying his ten sons for beeing Christians.
- lxx. *Osbert*, of Northumberland, slain for ravishing the wife of *Bernbocard*, and the Danes brought in. See *Stow*, *Holinsh*. L. vi. C. xii. And especially *Speed*, L. viii. C. ii.
- lxxi. *Edmund*, last king of the East-Angles, martyr'd by *Hinguar* the Dane. See *Speed*, L. viii. C. ii.
- lxxii. *Sigbert*, tyrant of the West-Saxons, slaine by a Swinheard.
- lxxiii. *Edmund*, brother of *Athelstan*, slaine by a theefe at his owne table. *Malmesb*.
- lxxiv. *Edwin*, son to *Edward* the younger, for lust depriv'd of his kingdom, or rather by faction of monks, whome he hated; together [with] the impostor *Dunstun*.
- lxxv. *Edward*, son of *Edgar*, murder'd by his step-mother. To which may be inferred the tragedies stirr'd up betwixt the monks and priests about marriage.
- lxxvi. *Etheldred*, son of *Edgar*, a slothful king; the ruin of his land by the Danes.
- lxxvii. *Ceanlin*, king of the West-Saxons, for tyrannie depos'd, and banish't; and dying.

- lxxviii. *The slaughter of the monks of Bangor by Edelfride, stirr'd up, as is said, by Ethelbert, and he by Austine the monke; because the Britains would not receave the rites of the Roman church. See Bede, Geffrey Monmouth, and Holinshed, p. 104. Which must begin with the convocation of British Clergie by Austin to determine superfluous points, which by them were refused.*
- lxxix. *Edwin, by vision, promised the kingdom of Northumberland on promise of his conversion; and therein establish't by Rodwald, king of [the] East-Angles.*
- lxxx. *Oswin, king of Deira, slaine by Oswie his friend, king of Bernitia, through instigation of flatterers. See Holinsh. p. 115.*
- lxxxi. *Sigibert, of the East-Angles, keeping companie with a person excommunicated, slaine by the same man in his house, according as the bishop Cedda had foretold.*
- lxxxii. *Egfride, king of the Northumbers, slaine in battle against the Picts; having before wasted Ireland, and made warre for no reason on men that ever lov'd the English; forewarn'd also by Cuthbert not to fight with the Picts.*
- lxxxiii. *Kinewulf, king of the West-Saxons, slaine by Kineard in the house of one of his concubins.*
- lxxxiv. *Gunthildis, the Danish ladie, with her husband Palingus, and her son, slaine by the appointment of the traitor Edrick, in king Ethelred's days. Holinsh. L. vii. C. v. Together with the massacre of the Danes at Oxford. Speed.*
- lxxxv. *Brightrick, [king] of [the] West-Saxons, poyson'd by his wife Eitelburge, Offa's daughter; who dyes miserably also, in beggery, after adultery, in a nunnery. Speed in Bithrick.*
- lxxxvi. *Alfred, in disguise of a minstrel, discovers the Danes' negligence; sets on [them] with a mightie slaughter. About the same tyme the Devonshire men rout Hubba, and slay him.*
- lxxxvii. *Albelftan exposing his brother Edwin to the sea, and repenting.*

- lxxxviii. *Edgar slaying Ethelwold for false play in wooing.* Wherein may be set out his pride, and lust, which he thought to clofe by favouring monks and building monasteries. Also the disposition of woman in Elfrida towards her husband. [Peck proposes, and justly, I think, to read *cloke* instead of *clofe*.]
- lxxxix. *Swane besedging London, and Ethelred repuls't by the Londoners.*
- xc. *Harold slaine in battel, by William the Norman.* The first Scene may begin with the ghost of Alfred, the second son of Ethelred, slaine in cruel manner by Godwin, Harold's father; his mother and brother dissuading him.
- xc. i. *Edmund Ironside defeating the Danes at Brentford; with his combat with Canute.*
- xc. ii. *Edmund Ironside murder'd by Edrick the traitor, and reveng'd by Canute.*
- xc. iii. *Gunilda, daughter to king Canute and Emma, wife to Henry III. emperor, accus'd of in chastitie; defended by her English page in combat against a giant-like adversary; who by him at two blows is slaine, &c.* Speed, in the life of Canute.
- xc. iv. *Hardiknute dying in his cups:* An example to riot.
- xcv. *Edward the Confessor's divorcing and imprisoning his noble wife Editha, Godwin's daughter.* Wherin is shewed his over-affection to strangers, the cause of Godwin's insurrection. Wherein Godwin's forbearance of battel, prais'd; and the English moderation on both sides, magnifi'd. His [Edward's] slacknesse to redresse the corrupt clergie, and superstitious prætence of chaftitic.

*SCOTCH STORIES, or rather BRITISH OF THE
NORTH PARTS.*

- xcvi. *Athirco slain by Natholochus, whose daughters he had ravish'd; and this Natholochus, usurping thereon the kingdom, seeks to slay the kindred of Athirco, who scape him and conspire against him.* He sends a witch to know the event. The witch tells the messenger, that he is the man, that shall slay Natholochus. He detests it; but, in his journie home, changes his mind, and performs it. *Scotch Chron. English. p. 68, 69.*
- xcvii. *Duffe and Donwald.* A strange story of witchcraft and murder discover'd and reveng'd. *Scotch story, 149 &c.*
- xcviii. *Haie, the plowman, who, with his two sons that were at plow, running to the battell that was between the Scots and Danes in the next field, staid the fight of his countrymen, renew'd the battell, and caus'd the victorie, &c.* *Scotch story, p. 155 &c.*
- xcix. *Kenneth, who, having privily poison'd Malcolm Duffe that his own son might succeed, is slain by Fenella.* *Scotch Hist. p. 157, 158, &c.*
- c. *Macbeth.* Beginning at the arrivall of Malcolm at Mackduffe. The matter of Duncan may be express'd by the appearing of his ghost.

THE END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.

